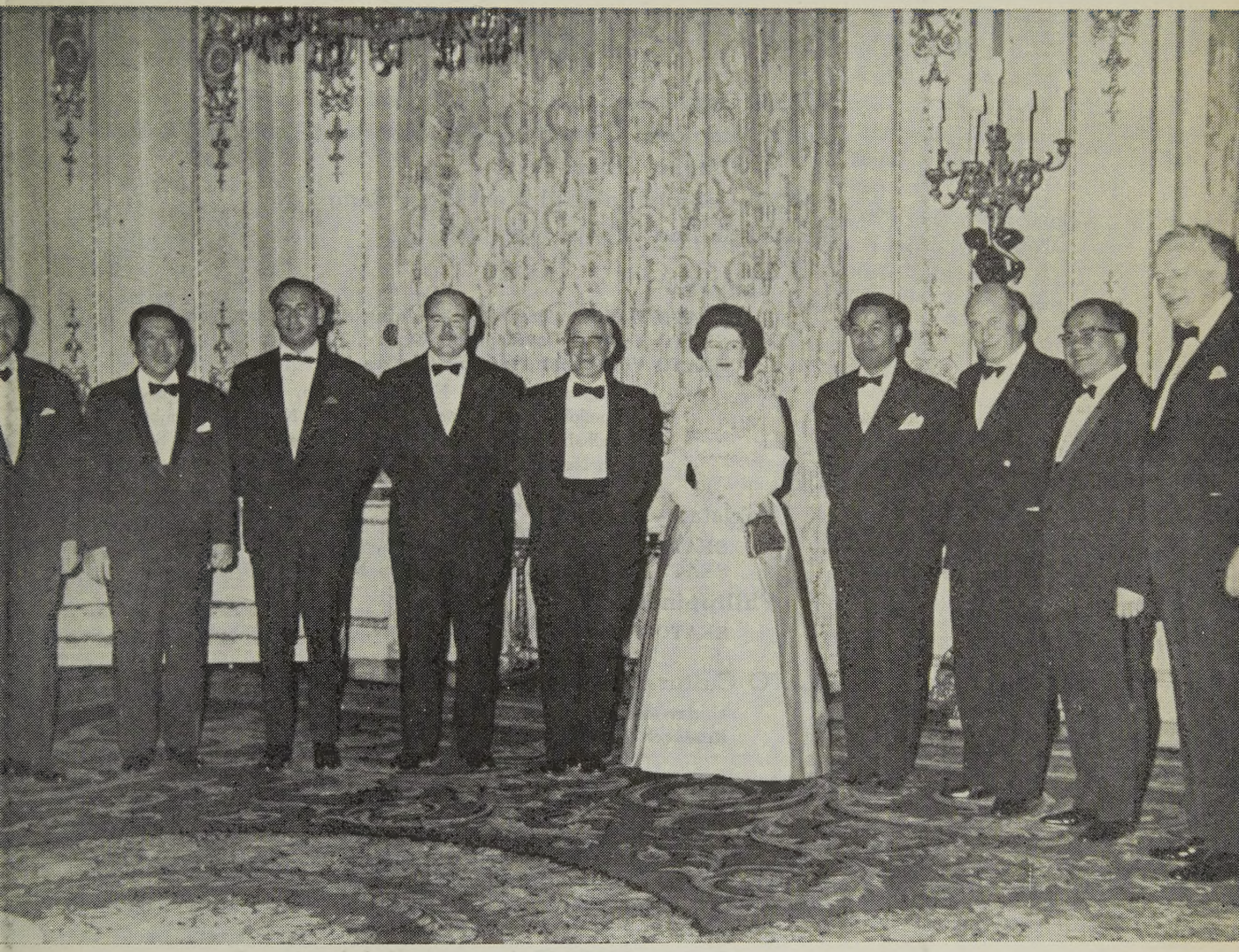
SEATO

SEATO Record

Vol. IV No. 3

U. of ILL. LIBRARY
AUG 31 1965
CHICAGO CIRCLE



H.M. Queen Elizabeth II gave a dinner party at Buckingham Palace for senior delegates to the 10th SEATO Council meeting held in London from May 3 to 5, 1965. Her Majesty is shown here with (left to right): Mr. Achille Clarac, SEATO Council Representative for France, and observer at the meeting; Mr. Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand; Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Mr. Paul Hasluck, Minister for External Affairs of Australia; Mr. Michael Stewart, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, Secretary-General of SEATO; Mr. D.J. Eyre, New Zealand Minister of Defence; Mr. Librado D. Cayco, Philippines Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Mr. George Ball, United States Under-Secretary of State.

Freedom must be defended in every quarter.

UNITY

Events are isolated neither in time nor in space. SEATO RECORD attempts to bring together significant events of the Organization itself, of its member nations, and of similar organizations of regional nature, as well as statements which reflect attitudes or policies. Background information of this sort is essential to place SEATO in its proper context of world affairs and national development.

SEATO PROJECTS

SEATO Graduate School of Engineering, Bangkok

SEATO Regional Community Development Technical Assistance Centre, Ubol

SEATO Vehicle Rebuild Workshop, Bangkok

SEATO Skilled Labour Projects:

Thailand –

SEATO Military Technical Training School, Bangkok
SEATO Teacher Development Centre, Bangkok
SEATO Vocational Training Centres in :
Chiengmai, Lampang, Nongkhai, Udorn, Nakorn Phanom, Tak, Pitsanuloke, Nakorn Sawan, Khon-Kaen, Korat, Ubol, Rajburi, Cholburi, Chandhaburi, Chumporn, Nakorn Srithamaraj, Patalung, Songkhla, Yala, Sakon Nakorn.

Pakistan –

SEATO Technical Training Centre, Dacca
SEATO Technical Training Centre, Karachi

Philippines –

SEATO Vocational Training Centre, Marikina

SEATO Cultural Relations Program

Under-graduate Scholarships, Post-graduate Scholarships
Research Fellowships, Professorships

SEATO Medical Projects

Thailand –

SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok
SEATO Clinical Research Centre, Bangkok

Pakistan –

Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca

Copies of **SEATO Record** are available, free of charge, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarters, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand. **SEATO Record** is produced six times a year.

SEATO Record

Vol. IV No. 3 June 1965

CONTENTS

		Page
TENTH SEATO COUNCIL MEETING:		
SEATO: A Means to Preserve Independence	*Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson*	4
World-wide Concern for S E. Asia	*Hon. Paul Hasluck*	6
Unity and Strength Essential	*Hon. D.J. Eyre*	8
Instrument of Peace and Stability	*Z.A. Bhutto*	10
Commitment to Freedom and Justice	*Hon. Librado D. Cayco*	11
Crucial Struggle in S. Viet-Nam	*H.E. Thanat Khoman*	12
S. Viet-Nam Defence Vital	*Hon. George W. Ball*	15
SEATO: Shield of Progress	*H.E. Konthi Suphamongkhon*	17
The Shaping of Peace in S.E. Asia	*Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart*	19
The Position of France	*H.E. Achille Clarac*	20
Aggression against South Viet-Nam	*H.E. Professor Vu-Van-Mau*	20
Final Communique		23
MILITARY ADVISERS' 22nd CONFERENCE:		
Final Communique		26
FOREIGN AFFAIRS:		
U.S. Policy in South-East Asia	*President Johnson*	27
President's Statement on Viet-Nam		30
British Policy on Viet-Nam		31
Australian View U.S. Action "Necessary"		34
Press Queries		35
Support for U.S. Stand		37
Philippine aid to Viet-Nam		37
Mendez on Neutralization		38
The Rule of Law		38
Communist Threat to Thailand		41
CENTO's Tenth Anniversary		43
S.E. Asia: An Introduction to the Literature	*Donn V. Hart*	44
Technicians Graduate at Dacca Centre		48
New Agency Enters Cholera Research Program		48
Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas		49
SEATO CHRONOLOGY		50
BOOKS OF INTEREST		50
SEATO PUBLICATIONS		51

SEATO Record is published under the authority of the Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Organization or of individual governments. Unless otherwise expressly stated, all articles and documents may be reproduced. Signed articles may only be reproduced with the author's name.

SEATO: A Means to Preserve Independence

Address by the Right Honourable Mr. Harold Wilson, M.P. Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council in London, May 3, 1965.

I am very glad to have the privilege of welcoming to London the many distinguished Delegates who have assembled here for the Annual Meeting of the Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. This is a particular pleasure, because this is the first time the Council has met in London, even though this is the tenth of these Annual Meetings.

I think we can all congratulate ourselves to-day on the robustness of the Alliance and the degree of success it has already achieved. The existence of SEATO during the last decade has brought additional stability to South-East Asia and the benefits of this have been felt even by those countries which are not members. There has been no outside invasion of South East Asia and no direct conflict in that area between the Great Powers.

SEATO has also enabled its members, drawn from three different continents, to extend their co-operation in the economic and cultural fields as well. It has been more than a military alliance. It has been a forum for the exchange of ideas and the co-ordination of policies, a bond of friendship and mutual aid in a sadly divided world.

Dangers and Difficulties

But these successes should not blind us to the dangers and difficulties that remain. Precisely because our alliance has made open war and outright invasion too risky, the enemies of peace have found other methods of keeping South-East Asia in turmoil. This is not a state of affairs we can allow to endure. The peoples of South-East Asia have a right to be left in peace and all of us have a right to expect an end to the constant anxiety which the problems of this area have caused to peoples and Governments far beyond their borders.

This year the Council are meeting at a moment when the problems of the Treaty area, as defined in Article 8 of the Manila Treaty, are more than usually acute. The conflict in Viet-Nam which affects her neighbours and Indonesian confrontation of Malaysia have rightly aroused the attention and anxiety of the world. Both these situations constitute a serious threat to peace. Both urgently need to be ended by an honourable negotiated settlement, not only for the sake of the Asian peoples directly concerned, but for that of all the other nations who have been or may be involved.

The British Government's attitude towards the problems of Viet-Nam and her neighbours on the one hand and Malaysia on the other is basically the same. It springs from the policy, which we have consistently followed ever since 1945, of withdrawing from our former colonial position in Asia. As each of the peoples once under British rule has attained independence, we have believed that they should be left alone to follow their own path towards peace and prosperity.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson, speaking at the opening session. Left to right on the dais with Mr. Wilson are: Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, Secretary-General of SEATO, Mr. Librado D. Cayco, Philippines Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand.

The 10th meeting of the SEATO Council in session at Lancaster House, London, on May 3 1965.

Our assistance has been available on request, or by agreement but we have never sought – and we do not now seek – to impose our views.

Freedom from Interference

But independence means more than freedom from British rule or from the rule of any other former colonial power. It means freedom from all outside interference.

This may seem rather an elementary proposition. Unfortunately, as all of you know, the right of small nations to pursue in peace their own chosen destiny is not yet universally accepted. That is why SEATO came into being: to help those independent nations of Asia who wanted assistance in preserving their own independence.

Some people have suggested that SEATO exists to perpetuate Western influence, even Western control, in South-East Asia. I do not need to tell you, but I want to tell the world, that this is nonsense. It is through no desire of ours that Britain has more soldiers in South-East Asia to-day than any other non-Asian power, more than we ever had there in peace-time in all our days as a colonial ruler. We are now there through loyalty to our allies to whom we have pledged our support. We are there because of our solidarity with Commonwealth partners. We are there for any peace-keeping which we may need to take in our obligations to the United Nations. If Malaysia and the Asian members of SEATO were to say to Britain tomorrow: "Thank you, but all outside threats to our independence have ceased and we no longer need your help", nobody would be more pleased than the British Government and the British people.

Two Main Tasks

But while these threats continue, while our help is still wanted, we must continue to concern ourselves with the affairs of South-East Asia. As I see it, all of us involved have two main tasks. We must work for negotiated settlements that will bring lasting peace to the area, to Viet-Nam no less than to Malaysia. This will be a long and difficult task, above all because those who have threatened the peace have so far shown no readiness to prefer the conference table to the battlefield.

Our second task is to ensure that the enemies of peace are not allowed to make further headway while we are engaged in the long and difficult task of promoting through negotiations a lasting and honourable settlement. That is why the United States and many other countries are actively engaged in assisting the people of South Viet-Nam to resist outside interference. That is why Britain, Australia and New Zealand are helping Malaysia to preserve her independence and territorial integrity against Indonesian aggression.

SEATO is not at present directly involved in either of these conflicts, but both are taking place within the Treaty area and both are of vital concern to the Organization, its Members and the peace of the world. The Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization thus has questions of the utmost gravity and importance to discuss. I shall look forward with great interest to the Foreign Secretary's report of the outcome of your deliberations. Until then, let me say once more how glad I am to see all of you in London and then leave you to embark on your urgent and important labours.

World-wide Concern for S.E. Asia

Statement by the Honourable Mr. Paul Hasluck, Minister for External Affairs of Australia at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

It is wholly appropriate to meet in a European capital to discuss resistance to communist aggression in Asia. Although the region in which SEATO is working is on the other side of the world, what is happening in South-East Asia to-day is by no means a local or limited series of incidents. It is part of a world problem and concerns nations in all quarters of the globe.

We in Australia are closely familiar with this line of thought. Twice in this generation Australians came without hesitation to fight against aggression in Europe because we saw a war started in Europe as a danger not only to Europe but to the whole world. To-day we see aggression in Asia as being just as much a danger to the whole world as it is to those of us who live in or near Asia. Indeed, to-day the risk of a world war starting is more immediate in Asia than in any other continent. South-East Asia is the front line in the struggle for world security.

Australia contributed air forces to help break the blockade of Berlin. Viet-Nam to-day is no less fateful to the future of the world than was the Berlin crisis. Western Europe is as closely concerned there as we ourselves were concerned with Berlin.

Taking this view, Australia sees the actions of the United States in Asia as an acceptance by that great power of the world-wide responsibilities which comes to it because it is great. We honour them for what they are doing in Viet-Nam and we support them in it.

Britain's Obligations

Australia also welcomes recent statements and actions of the British Government confirming the continued commitments and obligations of Great Britain in South-East Asia. The bonds of kinship and the common loyalties which we have with Britain indeed give us something close to a family pride at seeing the way in which Britain, in spite of her very grave preoccupations in Europe and the North Atlantic, is still fulfilling her role east of Suez as a power with world-wide obligations, interests and duties.

There is another reason for welcoming a meeting in Europe on Asian affairs. The shaping of peace will also require European co-operation. Although, unfortunately, at the present time there are few encouraging signs on which to base a hope for an early settlement and whi'e there has been no response from the aggressors to overtures for discussions, all SEATO members who are engaged in the conflict in South-East Asia have peace and not war as our objective. We resist the aggressor in the hope that resistance will open the way to a fair and realistic negotiation leading to a just, reasonable, and stable peace. There are at least three great European powers – Britain, Soviet Union and France – who have a direct concern and could have a helpful influence in establishing peace in Asia.

For this reason among others, we regret very much that France is not represented by her Foreign Minister at this Council Meeting. We in Australia have a deep respect for French intelligence and for their political experience. France is depriving both herself and us of the chance of debate.

So that there should be no misunderstanding, however, about any reference I make to discussions or negotiation I should like to make it plain that, in the Australian view, an essential element of any set-tlement is that all parties cease military activity either

On arrival in London to attend the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, Mr. Paul Hasluck, Australian Minister for External Affairs, is met by Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon (right), Secretary-General of SEATO.

open or hidden. We on our side must not negotiate ourselves out of the right and the capacity to protect those nations who are under attack. We must distinguish any argument in favour of negotiation from a pressure for surrender or for the abandonment of those whom we are defending.

Threat to Thailand

This Council meets at a time when the dangers facing members in the Treaty Area are acute. As I have already indicated, we view the situation in Viet-Nam as one of the utmost gravity. Members should also be aware that there are other targets on the communist list. Mainland China has made no secret of its plans for conquest by subversion of Thailand. There is a clear pattern for undermining not one country alone, but country after country throughout the region. There is the stark and ugly fact that countries throughout the region are unable to achieve those conditions of political advancement and economic and social development for which they are entitled to hope. They cannot achieve them because of aggression or the fear of aggression and the constant subversive activity within their borders.

In this broad regional context, I should like to refer to the Indonesian attempts to crush Malaysia. The defence of Malaysia involves a considerable part of the military effort of three members of SEATO, although it is not an operation in which the Organization as such is concerned. Month by month, there are accumulating further signs of the interaction of events in Malaysia and events in other parts of South-East Asia. President Soekarno is associating himself more closely each year with the outlook and the ambitions of Peking and is turning his country more and more towards a course which he might fancy puts himself into partnership with the Chinese aggressor, but which anyone else, including many of his own people, can see plainly will surely make him the subservient abettor of Communist China and, in turn, one of its victims.

The aid we give to Malaysia to defend itself against Indonesian confrontation will continue. Not by our wish but as the results of actions by Indonesia, our military contribution in Malaysia has been increased. More and more we see that aid as part of a total contribution to meet a common danger.

Australian Contributions

We in Australia are in a different situation today from some others. In Malaysia, Britain bears the main burden of military assistance to Malaysia, and in South Viet-Nam the United States gives the major part of the military aid to South Viet-Nam. Australia, by its own judgment and on its own interpretation of events, has responded to requests made by the Governments of both countries. We are contributing elements of our navy, army and air force to the defence of Malaysia. We are contributing army and air forces to the defence of South Viet-Nam. We retain our standing commitments for military support under SEATO. We are also responsible for the defence of our own mainland and territories. We are contributing special material aid both to Malaysia and to South Viet-Nam and we also contribute to these and other countries under our SEATO aid program.

In order to meet this wide variety of commitments, we have recently revised our defence program to give an expenditure which will reach £421 million a year in 1966-67, this figure being more than double the annual defence expenditure in 1961-62 under the program which it replaced. We have introduced selective national service and have made both the regulars and the voluntary citizen forces available for service overseas. We recognise clearly our own need for dependable allies. We believe that we have such allies and we wish to prove ourselves, in turn, to be an ally on whom others can rely.

We value SEATO and believe that it has had considerable success up-to-date both as a deterrent to aggression and as a means of co-operation among like-minded countries. We will continue our support for SEATO. We recognise that the purposes of SEATO are wider than military measures and we believe that the members of SEATO are making a very useful contribution to the improvement of the life of the peoples of Asia.

Australia also welcomes the announcement by President Johnson of the willingness of the United States to contribute substantially to promote further developmental measures. We share the views that he expressed about the need for such measures and look forward with interest to hearing more of them and learning the ways in which other nations may co-operate.

Opportunity in Freedom

In all we do in Asia, the objectives are peace, political stability and the creation of opportunity for the Asian peoples in ways which they themselves feel will meet the needs of their peoples. To do that they must be free from the domination of any power,

secure from subversion or the threat of subversion and protected against the armed attacks of Communist aggressors. The eventual settlement in Asia must clearly be a settlement which is acceptable to Asia and meets the needs and wishes of Asia, but at the present time the reality is that there will be no lasting settlement of any kind that gives a chance of freedom to the countries of South-East Asia unless countries outside Asia continue to give their support to the resistance of Communist aggression and the advancement of the social and economic life of her peoples. We all have a task here to help build the peace of Asia. In doing so, we will also be building peace for the world.

Unity and Strength Essential

Statement by the Honourable D.J. Eyre, at the opening of the Tenth Meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

We do not find it at all incongruous that the SEATO Council should be celebrating its tenth anniversary here. Although the former British Empire has developed into a Commonwealth of independent nations, British interests and commitments still circle the globe. Britain alone is a full member of three regional defence alliances, NATO, CENTO and SEATO. Britain has the closest of relations with South-East Asian countries. Four of the members of SEATO also belong to the Commonwealth. In a fifth Commonwealth country in South-East Asia – Malaysia – British forces are heavily engaged in the defence of a small, newly-independent country against the aggression of a large and belligerent neighbour. This is a good place, therefore, to have this meeting.

The links which bind New Zealand to SEATO and which draw together all the member nations must be no less strong. SEATO is a defensive alliance. In the words of the Treaty, it exists so that member countries can assist one another to "maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability". We do our utmost to achieve these aims by peaceful means. To this end SEATO, although primarily a military alliance, has played its part in economic and social development in South-East Asia. Its members have contributed bilaterally and through other agencies, including the United Nations. In the face of military aggression and insurgency, however, economic and social programs become insufficient by themselves to ensure that prosperity and freedom are maintained. If force is used, that force must be met with force.

External Aggression in S. Viet-Nam

This is what has happened in Viet-Nam. South Viet-Nam has had to take up arms in the face of aggression, at first hidden, now open, on the part of North Viet-Nam. The war in Viet-Nam is not a popular uprising against the established government, but a war which is directed and assisted from outside. Pledged to support the Government of South Viet-Nam, the United States honoured its promises and provided technical assistance and military personnel in an advisory capacity. As the war intensified as a result of increasingly substantial assistance on the part of North Viet-Nam, so the United States in response to the requests of the legitimate government of South Viet-Nam, was forced to intensify its response and United States military personnel are now actively engaged in various roles. If we accept the obligations of the Manila Treaty, as well as its rights and benefits, we cannot but approve the action taken by the United States.

Obviously all of us here present wish to see an end to the war in Viet-Nam – the United States as much as any other SEATO member. Recently President Johnson made an offer that talks leading towards settlement should take place without precondition. This offer was categorically rejected by the Hanoi government and drew an outburst of abuse from Peking. In the face of such an attitude, it is difficult to see the way to a settlement. But it is clear that substantive progress can only be made when both sides display a willingness to come together with a positive determination to find a solution. The United States has displayed this willingness. We have the right to expect the other side to show itself equally forthcoming.

Troubled Situation in Laos

The situation in Viet-Nam represents the most immediate threat in the SEATO area. We must ensure

Leader of the New Zealand delegation, Mr. D.J. Eyre (centre), Minister of Defence, is flanked by Sir Stephen Weir (left) New Zealand Ambassador to Thailand and Mr. Charles Craw, New Zealand's Deputy High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.

SEATO Military Adviser Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp of the United States (right) greets Major-General L.W. Thornton, of New Zealand. General Alfredo M. Santos, Military Adviser for the Philippines, is in the centre.

that this cancer does not spread further afield. There are certainly dangers that it may do so. The situation in Laos is still a troubled one. Communist China has in the past year demonstrated its potential to develop a nuclear capability. It has actively pursued its plans to include the whole of South-East Asia within its sphere of influence. The confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia has shown no sign that it will be quickly and amicably settled in the near future, and it too represents a grave threat to the peace and stability of the whole area. In the past year, my Government has expanded its military and economic assistance to Malaysia, and our naval, air and land forces are now engaged in its support. The countries represented here cannot overlook the fact that there are very grave dangers inherent in all these situations; nor can we afford to neglect their implications for the SEATO area as a whole.

This defensive alliance has an important part to play in solving these problems and in restoring peace and stability throughout South-East Asia. To play an effective part it must remain unified and strong. During the next few days, Mr. Chairman, we must be determined to strengthen still further the unity of our alliance, to find ways of increasing its effectiveness, and to reach agreement on the means of solving the problems that we face.

Instrument of Peace and Stability

Statement by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

Important international developments have taken place since the Council met a year ago in Manila. The Council will, no doubt, provide an opportunity for its members for a free and frank exchange of views on these developments. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that these exchanges will contribute, objectively and constructively, towards the lessening of tension in the area, the removal of fear and threat of the expansion of war from the minds of people and to securing and maintaining peace and tranquillity in the region. Indeed, we look upon SEATO, which is a defensive pact, as an instrument for the preservation and strengthening of peace and socio-economic stability in our region and for promoting the aims and purposes of the United Nations.

For Pakistan, which is determined to provide a higher standard of living for its people, it is essential that she should be able to devote, undisturbed and in peace, all her energies and resources towards the elimination of poverty, misery and want. It has, therefore, been our constant endeavour to work for the promotion of peace in the region, and to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is with these objectives in view that the Government of Pakistan are pursuing programs of intensive national development at home and a policy of normalization and development of friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. In fact, the Pakistan Constitution states that international peace and security should be promoted, goodwill and friendly relations among all nations should be fostered, and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means should be encouraged. It is our objective to put into practice the declarations contained in our Constitution and implicit in the purpose that gave birth to our State.

Expansion of Economic Activities

I am happy to note that under the aegis of SEATO some economic projects have been established in the regional countries which will help promote economic progress and technical co-operation among the regional members. The economic well-being and improved standards of living of the peoples of the area are fundamental to the building of a sound base for stability and progress in the region. The realisation of these projects will lessen the burden of centuries imposed on peoples of this part of Asia. It is necessary that the economic activities of SEATO should expand. In this context we welcome the proposal of the SEATO Secretary-General for increased economic activities of SEATO and technical cooperation among the regional countries, and hope that his proposals will receive favourable consideration. We are grateful for the generous assistance and support of the non-regional members for the economic activities of SEATO, and hope that they will continue and increase their financial and technical support in this direction.

Britain's Secretary of State for Defence, Mr. Denis Healey, welcomes Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan, SEATO Military Adviser for Pakistan to Lancaster House, London for the 22nd Military Advisers' meeting. In background, Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, Military Adviser for the United Kingdom, and chairman of the conference, and Major-General H.A. Prince, Chief, SEATO Military Planning Office.

Commitment to Freedom and Justice

Statement by the Honourable Mr. Librado D. Cayco, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

It is in the nature of the democratic system to allow for the free ventilation of all shades of opinion. This process is necessary in order to obtain a consensus. As Thomas Babington Macaulay aptly put it, free men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely. Whatever disaffections or disagreements may arise during our deliberations, it is our earnest hope that they will not detract from our common determination to fulfill the objectives of our Organization. My delegation is prepared to contribute its modest share in the efforts of this Council to solve the serious problems which confront us.

We are meeting to-day against a backdrop of aggravated tensions and increasing violence in precisely the region that our Organization is pledged to defend and protect. Of particular concern to us is the deteriorating situation in Viet-Nam.

The need of the hour is sharply urgent. It calls for strong and decisive action. Either we crest the mounting crisis now or go under it and disintegrate.

It is now my pleasant duty to read the following message which the President of the Philippines, His Excellency Mr. Diosdado Macapagal, has charged me to convey to the distinguished members of the Council:

"The Philippines reaffirms its unswerving faith in the indispensability of SEATO as an instrument for the defence of free societies in Asia. Since its inception, not one inch of SEATO territory has fallen under Communist sway.

Full Support for SEATO

"The role of SEATO in South-East Asia fulfils the policy of freedom and justice to which the Philippines is irrevocably committed. As a result, our Republic continues to give SEATO its full support, commensurate with the power and resources at its

Philippine delegation to the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council at Lancaster House, London. Flanking the leader of the delegation, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Librado D. Cayco are (left) the Philippine Ambassador to Thailand Dr. Jose D. Ingles, and Philippine Ambassador to London, Marcial P. Lichauco.

disposal. Its latest move in this direction is the nomination of one of its leading anti-communist leaders, General Jesus Vargas, for the position of Secretary-General of SEATO.

"The 10th SEATO Council of Ministers' meeting is being held at a most crucial time in the history of the region. South-East Asia is now in a state of turbulence, with communism resurgent and threatening the dignity and liberty of all free Asians. The armed aggression in Viet-Nam has intensified and threatens to engulf our entire area. If not met with determination and vigour, it might conceivably involve the whole world.

"It is, therefore, imperative that the members of this distinguished assembly address themselves to the search for the most effective way of coping with the common danger. The Philippines, for its part, is ready to meet its responsibility in enhancing the defensive capabilities of the free peoples of South-East Asia.

"It is hoped that the Almighty will so inspire the participants at the meeting of the 10th SEATO Council of Ministers that their conference shall bear fruitful and enduring results."

Crucial Struggle in S. Viet-Nam

Statement by His Excellency Mr. Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

Ever since the Second World War came to an end, South-East Asia has enjoyed little if any peace. While legitimate nationalistic aspirations have led subjugated peoples to emerge as free and independent nations, other aggressive and expansionist forces have relentlessly been at work attempting to exert their influence and to bring these new entities within their orbit of authority.

The main attacks were directed against the former colonial territories hitherto known as Indo-China, and brought upon by their former rulers with a military disaster in the battlefield of an unknown little spot in Viet-Nam, Dien Bien Phu, which since then has been glorified as a landmark of victory for liberty over the unenlightened form of western colonialism. The results of that famous battle forced the then colonial rulers to bow to the inevitable. The 1954 Geneva Conference was then called to arrange for their exit from the scene they dominated for so long.

As that international conference closed its doors, it was clear that while a few nations were in effect ushered into a new life of insecure independence, more substantial gains went to an ambitious and ruthless group who, from the very beginning, nurtured the design of supplanting the retiring colonial regime with their own new form of colonialism, the communist colonialism, which is even more exacting and more destructive of liberty. Thus the triumph of freedom was less real than it was made to appear. In fact, as a result of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the frontiers of the Communist empire rolled further southward to the 17th parallel, while to the west, the unlawful communist occupation of Northern Laos continued and was later expanded despite provisions to the contrary of the same Agreements.

Stemming the Tide

As we may see, the seeds of present troubles in South-East Asia, particularly in South Viet-Nam and Laos, must be traced to the colonial past as also to the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which by legally sanctioning a communist state in North Viet-Nam gave the communist powers a convenient base for further expansion. To many who attended that fateful conference on Indo-China, a clear realization dawned unmistakably that the communists would not be content with their new acquisitions but were bent upon extending them further almost without limits. Hence the necessity of trying to stem the communist expansionist tides and this was how our Organization came into being.

From its inception, SEATO inherited a burdensome legacy of deep division, of instability and notably of boundless rapacity of nearby countries to gobble up their neighbours. Nevertheless, it bravely assigned to itself the momentous task of resisting further communist aggression through collective means of defence. The first real challenge came some six years later when communist aggressors, seeking a more convenient access for their infiltration into South Viet-Nam threatened to overrun the Kingdom of Laos. SEATO, then, racked by incohesion and undermined from within, hesitated and faltered. Evidently the Organi-

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman (right) is welcomed by Sir Neville Bland, on his arrival at London Airport to attend the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council.

zation was not quite up to its task. The responsibility therefore had to be shifted to another Geneva Conference in which communist powers also took part. With proper perspective, the outcome of that conference which some naively thought to be "the pattern of peace for South-East Asia and perhaps for the world", could be now more properly assessed. The communist elements which, as result of the Geneva Agreements of 1962, secured a legal foothold in the Coalition Government of Laos, as could be expected, were not satisfied with the gains they had made there. Consequently, holding that Laos was only a secondary target which would be easily taken if the main target were to fall, they escalated their campaign of terrorism as well as their military activities in South Viet-Nam in the hope of delivering what they thought to be the *coup de grâce* to South Viet-Nam which they have always held to be their primary objective of colonial expansion.

Crucial Struggle in S. Viet-Nam

Although South Viet-Nam is actually a Protocol State placed under this Organization's protective umbrella at the insistence of its former colonial rulers, SEATO has shown little if any ability to deal with the emergency. In fact, had it not been for the willingness of a member of this Organization, the United States, to assume the main responsibility and to accept sacrifices for the defence of South Viet-Nam, that nation might well have long been lost to the communist aggressors.

On this occasion, I should like to pay the respectful tribute of my government and my people to the gallant men and women of South Viet-Nam and the United States, who gave their lives to uphold the cause of peace and freedom in South Viet-Nam.

I should like also to add how heartening it is to us all the decision of the Government of Australia to send a contingent of Australian forces into South Viet-Nam.

As we meet here to-day, I hope none of us will fail to realize how crucial the struggle in South Viet-Nam is, and that the outcome will transcend the borders of that country and is bound to affect not only South-East Asia but the entire Free World.

What then can this Organization do?

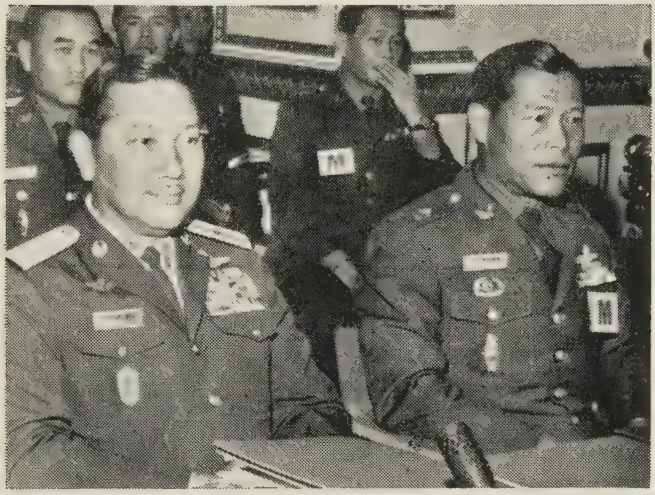
Obviously our duty is not and cannot be, to borrow that famous expression, "to preside over the liquidation" of either South Viet-Nam, or for that matter, of free South-East Asia in favour of the communists. Rather, we are committed, singly and collectively, to defend South-East Asia against communist aggression and to help keep that region free.

For that purpose, what is needed is much less good advice and wise counsels which have been flowing rather liberally and gratuitously during these past few years, but a firm determination to resist communist encroachments and a willingness to take concrete steps, and if need be, to accept sacrifices. To some, the price may seem too high and they may prefer to retreat rather than to stand firm, These are the people who have not learned and will probably never learn the

lessons of history, and to-day they may be the same as those who, thirty years ago, failed to take appropriate measures when a few ill-equipped Hitlerite divisions moved to occupy the Rhineland. Thus they made the Second World War become a certainty and paved the way for a terrible holocaust in which some twenty million human beings were immolated. They should be responsible, if not before the law but before their conscience for this grievous and utterly purposeless loss.

Making Aggression Unprofitable

These people are known as "doves" who claim to be the apostles of peace. In fact, by bowing to the aggressors and allowing the latter to fortify themselves



Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, SEATO Military Adviser for Thailand (left) at the opening session of the 22nd Military Advisers' meeting. With Air Chief Marshal Dawee is Lieutenant-General Lek Nasomall.

with the flesh and blood of their victims, they are deserting and even betraying the cause of peace. If we allow them, these apostates who bear in their conscience the responsibility for the loss of so many human lives will again send even more millions of people to their doom. And though we live far away from Europe, therefore less likely to profit from the wisdom of that continent, we profoundly realize that, nowadays as in the past, no "peace in our time" can be bought by sacrificing a free nation, be it South Viet-Nam or South-East Asia or, for that matter, any other nation in the world. On the contrary, the chances for an enduring peace will become greater if we can see to it that aggression against free nations, either in overt or covert form, shall not be profitable. Rather we should make it clear beyond doubt that those who commit them shall be made to pay dearly for their mischiefs. Only thus can South-East Asia, Europe and indeed the whole world enjoy peace and tranquillity.

Thailand Threatened

In so saying, let it be well understood that there are no warmongers in my country. We are too close to the scene of the battles, not to know that, should a large-scale conflict break out in the area, Thailand, as other nearby nations could hardly enjoy immunity from the effects of such a confiict. That is why, and perhaps more than many other nations, the Thai Government and the Thai people have every reason to work for a peaceful solution to the existing problems, rather than allowing the present tense situation to drift towards an armed conflict. We indeed prefer, as President Johnson so generously suggested, to see the resources of our nations devoted to the improvement of human welfare and to the realization of man's age-old hope for a better future than to be expended for the killing of other men. For after all, what the Thai people desire most is not to have their names inscribed on a war memorial, but to live their lives as free men and to be able to shape their own destiny. Such a desire for peace and constructive approach to international problems have not been reciprocated, and every gesture of conciliation and reasonable solution is taken as a sign of weakness and met with arrogant aggressiveness from the Communists. Thailand has, in effect, been openly threatened with guerrilla warfare within its territory.

Firmness and Resolution

Under these circumstances, there remain few if any other alternatives than to face the challenge to our free and independent existence with determination.

At this grave hour, the Thai nation hopes that its friends and allies, as well as other free peoples realize that Thailand's future as that of South-East Asia will also have a deep bearing on their own freedom and well-being. If we fail to close our ranks we have encouraged the actual or potential aggressors to become bolder to the point of plunging the world into a hostility which none of us desires. By remaining firm and resolute, the risks we are taking are infinitely smaller than the ones we may face later, if through lack of conscious realization and indecision, we choose the temporary expedient of yielding to threats and aggression and retreat. Let the name of that south German town, Munich, be a constant reminder to us all that appeasement is still the surest way of losing peace.

S. Viet-Nam Defence Vital

Statement by the Honourable George W. Ball, Under-Secretary of State of the United States, at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

The Ministerial Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization is concerned with several areas of actual or potential conflict. I shall, however, confine my comments principally to the struggle now under way in South Viet-Nam.

Pursuant to the 1954 Accords, Viet-Nam was divided into two parts at the 17th Parallel. A Communist government was established in the North, a non-Communist government in the South. From the beginning, the new government of South Viet-Nam faced formidable tasks.

Much of the South Vietnamese countryside was controlled by armed Communist cells or by armed religious sects. South Viet-Nam was not producing enough food to feed its own people – thousands of peasants had crowded into the cities, vast areas of rice land were untended. Railroads had been wrecked. The city of Saigon was largely under the control of a secret society of armed gangsters and pirates.

This chaos was compounded by the addition of nearly one million refugees from North Viet-Nam, who fled their ancestral homes and all their possessions rather than live under Communism. Many were suffering from starvation and disease. Some bore the scars of torture.

Many – in the West as well as Asia – placed a low estimate on South Viet-Nam's chances for survival. But over the next five years, the South Vietnamese people confounded the pessimists. The refugees from the North were settled. A land reform program was pressed forward. A comprehensive system of agricultural credit was set up. Thousands of new schools and more than 3,500 village health stations were built. Rail transportation was restored and roads were repaired and improved.

South Viet-Nam was not only able to feed itself but also resumed rice exports. Sugar and rubber production increased sharply. New industries were started. Per capita income rose by twenty percent.

Failure of Communism

Meanwhile, the doctrinaire methods pursued by the Communist regime in North Viet-Nam were producing quite different results. The North Vietnamese witnessed failure after failure in the agricultural sector and in industry. Per capita food production dropped ten percent. Relative to South Viet-Nam, the North Vietnamese standard of living declined significantly.

Success in the South and failure in the North were an obvious embarassment to the Communist regime in Hanoi. Events had made clear that South Viet-Nam would not – as they had expected – fall into their laps. If they were to extend Communist power to the South, they needed different tactics.

Accordingly, in 1960, the Communist Party of North Viet-Nam – the Lao Dong Party, which is in practical effect the Hanoi Government – ordered the "liberation" of South Viet-Nam. It set in motion a systematic plan for subverting and taking over South Viet-Nam. As their instrument for this purpose, the Communists created a classical type of Communist front organization – the National Liberation Front. In accordance with their plan, they began infiltrating into the South arms and men specially trained for sabotage and guerrilla warfare. In the beginning the cadres infiltrated were drawn largely from the 90,000 South Vietnamese who had gone North to join the Communist ranks in 1954 and had become residents of North Viet-Nam. But this reservoir of manpower has apparently now been exhausted. Since January of last year, the percentage of native North Vietnamese among the ranks of the infiltrated has steadily increased. There are now whole units of the North Vietnamese Army in South Viet-Nam.

U.S. Assistance Sought

The relation of my Government to these events goes back to the beginning. Soon after the 1954 Accords, the Government of South Viet-Nam asked the United States for assistance. In response to this request, we provided economic aid and military advice and assistance, within the limits set by the Geneva Accords. But in 1961, as the North Vietnamese aggression increased in scope and momentum, it became clear that we had materially to increase the scale of our help. In the fall of 1961, we undertook a full review of all aspects of the problem. As a result, President Kennedy decided to send several thousand military advisers to South Viet-Nam and step up our supply of equipment.

The United States delegation to the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council in London was led by Mr. George W. Ball (right), Under-Secretary of State. With Mr. Ball are (left) Mr. William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. and Mr. Graham Martin, United States Ambassador to Thailand.

In providing assistance to the South Vietnamese people, my Government has, from the beginning, been guided by very clear considerations. We have provided assistance for one purpose only – to help the South Vietnamese people resist aggression and maintain their independence. We have no territorial ambition in South Viet-Nam. We are not there for economic gain. We seek no military base. We have provided assistance for the same reason that we aided Greece and Turkey in 1947, that we fought in Korea, that we joined in forming NATO, and ANZUS, and SEATO, that we support CENTO, and that we have bilateral defence agreements with other free nations.

Disguised Aggression

And let there be no doubt about the threat in Viet-Nam and the nature of the struggle now being waged. The evidence establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt that South Viet-Nam is the victim of deliberate aggression – a Communist "war of national liberation". The Communists have sought to present their attack as a "civil war". But this is a hollow disguise.

During the last five years, North Viet-Nam has infiltrated into South Viet-Nam approximately 40,000 trained guerrilla fighters. If those men had moved across the demarcation zone in a single body, as in Korea, no one would be confused abouth the nature and source of the aggression. In Viet-Nam, however, the Communists chose the tactic of guerrilla warfare supported by terror and intimidation, by murder and torture. Last year alone the Viet Cong kidnapped, murdered, or seriously wounded more than 1500 local officials. They have killed and maimed thousands of innocent women and children by bombing trains, playgrounds, roads, buses, schools, theatres, and other civilian facilities.

Yet the South Vietnamese are a tough and valiant people. In the past five years, the South Vietnamese have suffered nearly 80,000 military and civilian casualties. That is the equivalent of 280,000 for the United Kingdom and one million for the United States.

But they continue to fight – and fight well. Of 10,000 men who entered the South Vietnamese army in March, 7,000 were volunteers.

This then is the war in Viet-Nam as we see it – a war valiantly fought by a people determined to be free and to control their own destiny – a war against an enemy who has sought to conceal by stealth and insidious invasion but whose purposes are clear for those who will read the evidence.

How should such an aggression be resisted?

For several years now the South Vietnamese with assistance from the United States and other free countries have been trying to root out the invaders and restore peace and order in the countryside. Thirty-three other nations, including all the members of SEATO, are providing or have promised to provide some form of economic or military aid, or both, to South Viet-Nam. These efforts have been greatly expanded just within the year since our last meeting.

Air Strikes

As the invasion intensified with the increased infiltration of men and equipment, the air forces of South Viet-Nam and the United States undertook ten weeks ago a series of air strikes against military targets in the North.

These strikes have been limited, carefully measured and controlled. They have been directed at impeding the movement of arms and trained men into South Viet-Nam. They have been designed to bring home to the regime in Hanoi the risks and costs of continued aggression.

The world has, I think, generally understood why those air strikes have been necessary. Yet voices are raised here and there asking that they be halted either on humanitarian grounds or because they might lead to an escalation of the conflict.

I understand the good intentions of those people. All of us deplore violence. But I still find it curious that many who bewail the destruction of bridges and munitions in the North speak so little of the torture and intimidation and loss of human life suffered in the South by the victims of the aggression.

Certainly the United States does not enjoy sending its air planes against North Viet-Nam and losing its own citizens in that effort. Nor have we enjoyed the 160,000 casualties that we have taken since the Second World War in the defence of freedom. Nor do we enjoy maintaining nearly 2,700,000 of our young men under arms or spending more than $50 thousand million a year on armaments. We would vastly prefer to have our sons safe at home and to devote those energies and resources to the constructive tasks of peace, including the major contribution we are prepared to make to projects for the development of South-East Asia, worked out by Asian nations themselves and now being considered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

We have, however, come to realise from the experience of the past years that aggression must be dealt with wherever it occurs and no matter what mask it may wear. Neither we nor other nations of the Free World were always alert of this. In the 1930s Manchuria seemed a long way away, but it was only ten years from Manchuria to Pearl Harbour. Ethiopia seemed a long way away. The rearmament of the Rhineland was regarded as regrettable but not worth a shooting war. Yet after that came Austria. And after Austria, Czechoslovakia. Then Poland. Then the Second World War.

The central issue we face in South Viet-Nam should, I think, be clear for all to see. It is whether a small state on the periphery of Communist power should be permitted to maintain its freedom. And that is an issue of vital importance to small states everywhere.

Moreover, it is an issue that affects the security of the whole Free World. Never has that point been more succinctly stated than by one of the greatest of all Englishmen, Sir Winston Churchill. "The belief", he said, "that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal illusion." And let us not forget that General Giap, the head of the North Vietnamese armed forces, has said quite explicitly that if the so-called "war of liberation" technique succeeds in Viet-Nam, it can succeed "everywhere in the world."

We, of course, would welcome a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese conflict and we will not cease to search for such a solution. President Johnson made clear on April 7, 1965, that we were prepared at all times for "unconditional discussions" with any government concerned. But he made clear at the same time that we were not seeking a solution that was no better than a meaningless agreement.

For we are determined to do what is necessary to make it possible for the people of South Viet-Nam to maintain their freedom. And we are convinced that– with our help and the help of other free nations – they can and will succeed.

SEATO: Shield of Progress

Address by Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, Secretary-General of SEATO at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

We are gathering at a time when South-East Asia has become the scene of much disturbance and agitation. The Ministerial meeting, far from the trouble spots of the area, will not only give us a chance to look at the international developments in a dispassionate way, but also will serve to demonstrate to the people of this and other parts of the world how the obligations of our collective defence treaty fit into our other commitments for the preservation of peace, freedom and independence.

The tightening strands of modern communication and transportation systems are destroying the old idea that Asia is a far-away place, detached and isolated. The family of nations no longer has hermit members or distant relatives.

We in Asia have always known, in academic

terms, that Europe is a peninsula at the corner of the same continent on which we live. Many of us have received our education in this peninsula and in its "off–shore" islands. We learned, among other things, that:

> "No man is an island, entire of itself;
> every man is a piece of the Continent...;
> if a Clod be washed away by the Sea, Europe
> is the lesse...."

We are now realising, as you are, that geography is affected by time and motion. The distance has not shrunk but speed has made it seem so.

Further, international political relationships have developed. The threat of the forces of expansionism has brought us to find common cause in the defence of the common values we hold so dear. Thus it was that 10 years ago we met for the first time to draft and sign our treaty for regional collective defence.

A Dual Task

We have proved in those 10 years that we are ready, willing and able to defend ourselves by individual and collective efforts. The military side of SEATO is alert, prepared and practised in defence.

Defence, however, entails more than the capability and the will to undertake military action to meet the common danger. Mititary defensive power is the shield for the member countries and as such it is essential. But the arm that holds the shield, the economic and social condition and strength of the member nations, is equally, if not more, important.

SEATO member Governments have in earnest recognized this fact from the outset. In the Pacific Charter, which they signed at the same time as the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, they pledged that "they will continue to co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote higher living standards, economic progress and social well-being" of the people in the region. The Treaty itself contained similar pledges both in its preamble and its operative part.

The delegates to the Manila Conference in 1954 stressed this need. As then noted by the Minister of External Affairs of Australia in his opening address: "The most serious error we could commit would be to believe that the vital problems of Asia can be solved by military meane alone, and to neglect the psychological and economic aspects of the problem."

The delegate for the United Kingdom, in his closing remarks, stated: "All of us here have recognized that the security of this area depends not only on military measures alone. The strengthening of free institutions and the furtherance of economic and social progress of the countries and territories of the area are also vital to its security and we have taken full account of this aspect as well."

Ever since that Manila Conference, there has been no ministerial meeting of SEATO at which such emphasis has not been solemnly reiterated. The concept of economic and social progress as being parallel to military preparedness is indeed firmly established.

Greater Economic Cooperation

SEATO has achieved certain degrees of success in this undertaking. Our efforts in the educational and medical research fields are noteworthy. Bilaterally or through *ad hoc* arrangements, member nations have extended to each other valuable cooperation and assistance.

Have we done enough?

In my 14 months of office I have endeavoured to rally member nations behind a greater plan for closer cooperative efforts to promote economic progress and

Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Michael Stewart, chats with the Secretary-General of SEATO, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, before the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council at Lancaster House, London. Mr. Stewart was chairman of the meeting.

social well-being of those members in need of development.

This, of course, constitutes a tremendous task, a task that has to be met if we are, in the terms of the Treaty, "to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principle of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law" in the region.

In his moving and indeed statesmanlike appeal at Johns Hopkins University on April 7, 1965, President Johnson has this to say:

> "These countries of South-East Asia are homes for millions of impoverished people. Each day these people rise at dawn and struggle through weary hours to wrestle existence from the soil. They are often wracked by disease, plagued by hunger, and death comes early, at the age of 40.
>
> "Stability and peace do not come easily in such a land. Neither independence nor human dignity will be won by arms alone. It also requires the works of peace.
>
> "The American people have helped generously in these works.
>
> "Now there must be a much more massive effort to improve the life of man in the conflict-torn corner of the world".

What a human and admirable address! It will not fail to enhearten the people in the remote hamlets and humble huts in South-East Asia.

The future lies before us. It is in our hands. Let us look at it squarely and resolutely. Let us together plan for the next decade of SEATO life. Let us show the world how effective we can be in our determination to see South-East Asia progress towards peace, happiness and prosperity, in freedom.

The Shaping of Peace in S.E. Asia

Statement by the Right Honourable Mr. Michael Stewart, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom at the opening of the 10th SEATO Council meeting, May 3, 1965.

Mr. Secretary-General, recently, and earlier this morning our colleague from Pakistan, referred to those aspects of our Treaty and our Organization which are concerned with scientific co-operation, with economic and social progress. I believe that it is a necessary part of the Alliances today that they should be concerned with these matters. Mankind, having seen so much destruction, is not willing to accept political arrangements that appear to be concerned exclusively with the use of force.

We realize – we often must realize – the need to use force to resist an aggressor, but all nations today and all mankind recognizes that the only purpose of that is to achieve those things in the field of economic and social progress to which you, Mr. Secretary-General, were referring; but we do meet in circumstances in which the powers in this Organization do have to face a difficult situation now in Viet-Nam and Malaysia, and I think we must all have listened with careful, indeed with painful, interest to the description by Mr. George Ball of the sufferings of Viet-Nam and of the task on which the United States is there engaged. Both in Viet-Nam and in Malaysia, the object that we have in view, the real object, is the achievement of settlements, settlements brought about by reasonable discussion, settlements of a nature that will last, that will ensure for South Viet-Nam and for Malaysia the certainty that they can live in peace and shape their own destiny in the future. Sooner or later those settlements will have to be reached. Meanwhile, it is necessary to see that the enemies of peace do not make gains by force which they will ultimately try to consolidate when it pleases them to come to the conference table.

Our colleague from New Zealand referred to the effort the United Kingdom is making in defence of Malaysia and indeed to the many other commitments we have throughout the world. It it true we are there both in the number of men involved and in the amount of defence aid we have provided. We are engaged in a very considerable commitment, but a commitment that we are determined to honour.

Just and Lasting Settlement

Now other members of this Alliance – and we are extremely grateful for this – are engaged in trying to see how a negotiated settlement could be reached in that theatre; and I say we are grateful for those efforts because, as I mentioned just now, our real object is the securing of a negotiated settlement that will be just, that will be honourable and that will last.

In Viet-Nam one might say the position is the

converse. There the great burden of defence against the aggressor is being borne by the United States. This country has a special position there as one of the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and it may well be that through that position as co-Chairmen we may be able, when the other side accept the idea of honourable settlement, to play a valuable part in bringing it about.

Our colleague from Australia said that European powers could have a part in the shaping of peace in this part of the world, and I believe that to be true, for this is something that the whole world should know – for both North Viet-Nam and for Indonesia peace is available on terms which any reasonable man would regard as honourable and secure the moment they choose to have it. It is not asked of them that they should surrender any territory; it is not asked of them that they should agree to anything that menaces their security; it is asked of them simply that they should leave their neighbours alone.

Now when that realization at last comes into their minds then we shall be able to turn – and here is where we welcome so much part of President Johnson's statement as to future aid in South-East Asia – to the constructive tasks that will enable people in that region of the world not only to be at peace but to enter into an era of growing prosperity and of lasting happiness.

The Position of France

Translation of a statement by H.E. Mr. Achille Clarac, Observer for the French Government, at the opening of the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965.

The French Government has decided not to send this year a delegation to the Council of Ministers of SEATO and to be represented only by an observer.

For, inevitably, as has always been the case in the past and, in particular, in 1964 in Manila, the discussions will bear above all on the countries of what was formerly Indo-China, and, in the first place, on Viet-Nam.

There is not, and experience shows that, unfortunately, there cannot be any common position and, even less, any joint action of the member countries on the grave issues which are at stake. The Manila Conference emphasized the fundamental differences which exist, to such an extent that the French Delegation was not able to associate itself with the communiqué, which did not in any way reflect the views of its Government.

It is to be feared, and even to be foreseen, that the same situation will recur this year again and that the discussions will reveal themselves as fruitless as in 1964. In such conditions, the French Government considers it wiser not to take part in the meetings and means to show thus that it could not associate itself in any way with the conclusions which might emerge.

France continues to desire a peaceful, that is to say a negotiated, settlement of the problem of Viet-Nam and of what was formerly Indo-China as a whole, on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, and this, in the first place, in the interest of the populations concerned.

When, as France hopes, such a settlement will become possible, she will be happy to contribute to it. Meanwhile, she can but reaffirm the views which she has held for years.

Aggression against South Viet-Nam

Statement by Professor Vu-Van-Mau, Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam to the United Kingdom, Observer at the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council, May 3, 1965 (in closed session)

The problem of Viet-Nam has been one of the subjects which have caused deep concern at the meeting of the SEATO Ministerial Council last year. Indeed, the final communiqué of the SEATO conference issued in Manila on April 15th, 1964 recognized that substantiated and documentary evidence exists to prove that the campaign organized against the Republic of Viet-Nam is "directed, supplied and supported by the Communist regime in North Viet-Nam, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962" and that "the defeat of the Communist campaign is essential, not only to the security of the Republic of Viet-Nam, but to that of South-East Asia."

Two years earlier, the International Control

Commission, in its Special Report of June, 1962, submitted to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, had already voiced the same condemnation.

These categorical verdicts coming from the most authoritative international bodies prove that the apprehensions felt by the signatory Powers of SEATO from the very day after the signature of the Geneva Accords of 1954 on the cessation of hostilities in Indochina are fully justified.

For ten years, the Republic of Viet-Nam has been the victim of a constant and increasingly violent aggression directed by the Communist North Viet-Nam and supported by many countries in the Communist bloc. This aggression has brought about in the last decade a war which is all the more dreadful that the enemy remains invisible and has not shunned from any inhuman means to sow ruins and death among the innocent civilian population.

Record of Violations

This aggression has led North Viet-Nam to trample underfoot the Geneva Accords they had signed in 1954. It suffices here to recount only the most recent and most flagrant violations.

1. Violations of the demilitarized zone.

According to articles 6 and 7 of the Geneva Accords of 1954, no person, military or civilian, shall be permitted to cross the provisional military demarcation line unless specifically authorized to do so.

These stipulations are totally ignored by the Communists who have violated this line of demarcation on an average of 70 times a month during 1962, 1963, 1964. Recently, 92 cases of violation have been recorded in January 1965 and 76 cases in Februry 1965.

2. Violations of the provisions concerning the introduction of new troops, military personnel, new arms and ammunition.

The provisions of the Geneva Accords aiming at the maintenance of the military potential of the interested parties at the strength of the day of signature of the 1954 Geneva Accords have been considered as dead letter by North Viet-Nam.

It was clearly known that in 1954, North Viet-Nam did not possess any air or naval forces. The mere fact of the present existence of these forces in North Viet-Nam constitutes the most striking proof that the preceding stipulations have been violated in the most flagrant way. The Mig 15 and 17 planes, radar stations, naval units, airfields, military bases, the number of which increases from day to day, all have but one aim: to crush, militarily speaking, the Republic of Viet-Nam and bring it into the Communist zone.

The map attached to the memorandum I am submitting to your attention is sufficient to prove the infiltration plan and its importance.

Men and Arms

Since 1959, more than 39,000 guerrillas and terrorists have been infiltrated into South Viet-Nam. Simultaneously with these infiltrations of troops, North Viet-Nam has illegally introduced into South Viet-Nam arms and ammunition, the recent discovery of which is of dramatic importance:

On February 16th, 1965, in the Bay of Vung Ro, near Varella Cape (Central Viet-Nam), the Government forces sank a ship of 35 meters long by 7 meters wide armed with 57mm cannons and 50mm heavy machine guns. Patrolling around the bay, the Government forces also discovered more than 100 tons of arms and ammunition, including 160 collective arms, 2,000 individual arms and 38 tons of ammunition and TNT explosives, all originating from Communist countries (Red China, USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany). An important quantity of pharmaceutical products of Russian, Bulgarian, Chinese and North Vietnamese manufacture were also seized.

On 14th March, 1965 a patrol of the Vietnamese Navy sank in the territorial waters of Quang-Tri province (South Viet-Nam) a junk and seized 75 rifles of Russian model and made in Communist China, 26 barrels containing 7.62 mm cartridges, 6 barrels containing explosives TNT, 3 barrels containing grenades, 2 barrels containing detonators.

On March 18th, 1965, in the course of an operation 6 km. north of Vung-Ro (Varella Cape), the Government forces after having crushed the enemy's resistance, discovered many arms caches and captured two 60 mm mortars made in Communist China, 3 anti-aircraft machine guns, one of which made in China, 2 machine guns, 636 individual arms of which 599 were East German Mauser pistols, 4 cannons, 2 tons of ammunition and an important quantity of antitank mines and TNT explosives made in Communist China.

Just a few days ago at the end of April 1965, another secret arms dump has been discovered 50 miles south of Saigon. Twenty East German heavy machine guns, 90 Chinese sub-machine guns, more than one thousand Soviet patterned rifles, one ton of plastic explosives and 15 tons of ammunition have been found so far.

The importance, unsuspected and up to now totally ignored by the Free World, of these arms and ammunition illegally introduced in South Viet-Nam and originating from several Communist countries as shown by their markings, are as many proofs that the aggression directed by North Viet-Nam against South Viet-Nam is a vast campaign supported by many countries in the Communist bloc on a considerable scale and which threatens dangerously the peace, not only in South Viet-Nam, but also in all South-East Asia.

3. Recently, in February 1965, North Viet-Nam has even compelled the International Control Commission to withdraw its working teams whose stationing in Viet-Nam was formally provided by the Geneva Accords to control the introduction of arms, military personnel and war materials.

Flouting of ICC

This inadmissible attitude of the Communist authorities of North Viet-Nam constitutes the most decisive evidence of their intention to escape from the control of the International Commission in order to indulge freely in the illicit importation of arms, ammunition, military personnel and to intensify their war of aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam.

4. I would like also to stress on the attacks and assassinations directed against the innocent civilian population and against the administrative cadres. For the year 1964 only, 446 hamlet chiefs and civil servants have been murdered by the Communists, 131 others kidnapped. To these figures must be added 1350 civilians murdered and 8400 others kidnapped. School buildings as well as hospitals and leprosariums were also not spared. In brief, the Communists do not shun from any ways and means however odious they may be, to achieve their plan of aggression.

5. Recently international opinion has often been misled by the creation of the so-called "Front of National Liberation of South Viet-Nam". In fact, this Front is a pure Communist creation and has only made its appearance since the end of 1960. This creation was decided three months earlier by the Communist Party of North Viet Nam, during the meeting of its Third Congress, held in Hanoi, in order to induce international opinion to believe that the campaign of aggression directed by the Communists in South Viet-Nam is only a movement of popular and spontaneous revolt.

In January 1962, in order to sow more confusion, the Communist authorities of North Viet-Nam created inside the so called Front the People's Revolutionary Party, a communist group which claimed to be affiliated to the Communist Party in Hanoi. This new tactic was intended to make people believe in the fallacy that the Communists are only one of the tendencies in the Front of Liberation of South Viet-Nam.

But this late manoeuvre only shows more clearly the machiavellian intentions of the Communists. Besides, this Front only repeats the propaganda lines of Hanoi and Peking. Moreover, Peking and Hanoi also sponsor every foreign propaganda favourable to the Front whose members travel abroad with North Vietnamese passports.

Right of Self-defence

The fact that the war has taken place for more than ten years only on the territory of the Republic of Viet-Nam proves clearly that South Viet-Nam is the victim of an aggression the instigator of which is North Viet-Nam which must bear full responsibility. The assistance which the people and the Government of South Viet-Nam have been compelled to seek from friendly Governments in the Free World is but one

aspect of the exercise of the right of self-defence recognized by the Charter of the United Nations. Moreover, it should also be stressed that they have decided to request this aid quite recently while the communist aggression which has lasted for many years grows more intense every day. The case of the Republic of Viet-Nam which occupies a geo-political position on the borderline of the Free World concerns, not only Viet-Nam but, in a general way, all the countries of South-East Asia which are subjected by one reason or another and in various forms to the expansionist plan of Red Imperialism.

The stake in the struggle the Vietnamese people has valiantly carried on for more than a decade lies not only in the liberty and independence of the Vietnamese people, but also in the just cause of peace and freedom in this part of the world, a stake not to be forgotten by any nation enamoured with the noble ideals which have presided over the organization of the United Nations as well as the conclusion of the SEATO.

I should fail in my duty if I would not take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Government and the people of Viet-Nam our gratitude for the unconditional and generous aid and for the precious support granted to us for several years by numerous powers of SEATO which have realised the value and the importance of our sacrifices in that war imposed by Red Imperialism.

SEATO Council: Final Communique

1. The Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization held its Tenth Meeting in London from May 3 to 5, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. The inaugural addres was delivered by the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, M.P., Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Government.

2. All Member Governments were represented at the Council Meeting. The Government of France was represented by an observer.

General Observations

3. In its discussions of the international situation, the Council recognised that the problems in the Treaty Area are closely inter-related with those in other parts of the world. It expressed satisfaction that the Alliance, with member nations drawn from several geographical regions, provides valuable opportunities for exchanges of views on matters of both regional and world-wide importance.

4. The Council noted that the exercise of a policy of restraint by the SEATO powers with the purpose of seeking the peaceful settlement of international disputes, together with the maintenance of their capability and readiness to take prompt defensive action if called upon, continues to serve as a stabilizing factor in South-East Asia. It affirmed its belief that the rule of law should prevail and that international agreements should be honoured and steps be taken to make them operative.

5. Noting that member nations of the Alliance are pursuing policies which have promoted the well-being of their peoples, the Council agreed that greater economic co-operation among the member nations would be mutually beneficial. It undertook to seek means by which this could be achieved.

Republic of Viet-Nam

6. The Council considered at length the dangerous situation caused by the aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam—an aggression organized, directed supplied and supported by the Communist regime in North Viet-Nam in contravention of the basic obligations of international law and in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. The Council noted with grave concern the increasing infiltration of arms and combat personnel from North Viet-Nam into South Viet-Nam and the evidence that this infiltration includes members of the regular armed forces of North Viet-Nam.

7. The Council heard a report from a representative of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam who attended the closed sessions as an observer. The Council expressed the deep sympathy and strong friendship of the Member Governments and peoples for the Government and people of the Republic of Viet-Nam. It voiced admiration for the determined resistance of the Government and people of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

8. The Council noted that the Communists themselves have proclaimed their assault on the Republic of Viet-Nam to be a critical test of the tactic of infiltrating arms and trained men across national frontiers. It agreed that history shows that the tole-

rance of aggression increases the danger to free societies everywhere.

9. The Council reaffirmed its conclusion at Manila a year ago that the defeat of this Communist campaign is essential not only to the security of the Republic of Viet-Nam but to that of South-East Asia, and would provide convincing proof that Communist expansion by such tactics will not be permitted. Member Governments recognized that the state of affairs in Viet-Nam, as described above, constitutes a flagrant challenge to the essential purpose for which they had associated together under the Treaty: to resist aggression.

10. The Council recalled that its members also agreed at Manila that they should remain prepared, if necessary, to take further concrete steps within their respective capabilities in fulfilment of their obligations under the Treaty. Pursuant thereto, substantial assistance and reinforcement have been given during the past year by certain Member Governments in order to assist South Viet-Nam in resisting aggression from the North. The Member Governments agreed to continue and, consistent with their commitments elsewhere, to increase their assistance to South Viet-Nam.

11. At the same time, it was agreed that every effort should be made to promote a satisfactory and lasting settlement of the conflict that would ensure the right of the South Vietnamese people to pursue their future in peace and complete freedom from external interference. The Council welcomed and expressed warm support for the policy of the United States Government as outlined by President Johnson on April 7, 1965, when he affirmed the determination of the United States to provide assistance to South Viet-Nam to defend its independence, stated the readiness of the United States for unconditional discussion with the Governments concerned in the search for a peaceful settlement, and offered the prospect of enriching the hopes and existence of more than 100 million people by a program of economic and social assistance in South-East Asia.

12. The Council stated that peace could be restored to South Viet-Nam if the Communist aggressors would honour the Agreements of 1954 and 1962. It declared it to be self-evident that, if the aggression were ended, the Governments and peoples of both South and North Viet-Nam could live in peace and devote their energies to economic and social progress.

13. The Council agreed that, until the Communist aggression is brought to an end, resolute defensive action must be continued.

Laos

14. The Council expressed concern that the Geneva Agreement of 1962 continues to be violated by the presence of North Vietnamese military forces and supplies in Laos, by the activities of the Pathet Lao, and by North Vietnamese use of the territory of Laos to send men and material to the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. It regretted that the International Control Commission is unable to act effectively to investigate violations in the Communist-held sections of the Kingdom where they occur. The Council expressed its support for the 1962 Geneva Agreement and for the efforts of the Government of National Union under the Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, to preserve the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos.

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Mountbatten of Burma (left) chats with Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, (Thailand) and Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger (Australia) before the opening of the 22nd SEATO Military Advisers' meeting

15. While appreciating the position stated in paragraphs 6 to 14, the Pakistan Delegation expressed to the Council their special concern over the consequences of the continuance of armed conflict in Viet-Nam and voiced the hope that determined efforts would also be made to restore peace in that area through negotiations on the basis of the existing Geneva Agreements.

Thailand

16. The Council noted with concern evidence of increasing Communist subversion from outside the

country against Thailand notably in the north-eastern part of the country. It noted the announcement by a clandestine radio of the establishment of a "Thai Independence Movement" which urges the overthrow of the Government of Thailand and endorsement of the "Movement" by Radio Peking and Radio Hanoi. The Council also noted the statement of the Communist Chinese Foreign Minister that Thailand would be the next target and that there might be a guerrilla war going in Thailand before the year is out. The Council Members expressed their determination to do whatever is necessary to assist their ally to meet this threat.

Malaysia

17. The Council also expressed grave concern at the situation arising from Indonesia's confrontation of Malaysia as constituting a serious threat to peace in the area of South-East Asia. Certain Member Governments noted that they had provided both military forces and other aid to assist in the defence of Malaysia and it was recognized that the strength and determination of this support had contributed materially to the stability of the area. The Council expressed the hope that an honourable and secure settlement would be arrived at on a basis acceptable to the Asian nations concerned.

18. The Pakistan Delegation expressed its concern at the continuance of the Indonesian/Malaysian dispute and stressed the view that this dispute could be resolved by peaceful means, that efforts should be pursued towards that end and that nothing should be done further to aggravate the existing conflict.

Counter-subversion

19. The Council agreed that Communist subversion continued to be a serious threat to the Asian member nations. It agreed that measures envisaged, namely, material and other aid at the request of the countries affected, should be continued.

Economic, Medical and Cultural Co-operation

20. The Council reviewed the progress of SEATO projects in the fields of economic development, medical research and cultural interchange. These projects include, among others, the SEATO Graduate School of Engineering, the Skilled Labour Projects, the Regional Community Development Technical Assistance Centre, the Thai-SEATO Vehicle Rebuild Workshop, the research fellowships, under-graduate and graduate scholarships and professorships; and the SEATO General Medical Research Laboratory, the SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory and the SEATO Clinical Research Centre. The Council agreed that emphasis should be placed on such projects in the years ahead.

Military Planning and Exercises

21. The Council approved the report of the Military Advisers and expressed satisfaction at the way in which the Military Planning Office continued to function.

22. The Council reaffirmed its belief that the capability and readiness of defence forces serves as a deterrent to aggression and thus contributes to peace. It stated that SEATO's military defence exercises have provided valuable experience to the armed forces of the member nations, an important asset to the Alliance should it be called upon to act to meet the common danger.

Staff Changes

23. The Council announced that Lieutenant-General Jesus M. Vargas of the Philippines has been appointed by the Council to serve as Secretary-General as of July 1, for a term of three years.

24. The Council expressed its appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, whose tour of duty is expiring. The Council placed on record its recognition of his untiring efforts in improving and strengthening the Organization.

Secretariat-General

25. The Council expressed its warm appreciation to the staff of the Organization for their valuable services.

Next Meeting

26. The Council accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of Australia to hold its next meeting in Canberra.

Expression of Gratitude

27. The Council expressed its gratitude to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for its hospitality and for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting. The Council voted warm thanks to the Chairman, the Right Honourable Michael Stewart.

France

28. The French Observer indicated that, as he had not participated in preparing this communique, the French Government does not consider itself to be committed by it.

Leaders of National Delegations

The leaders of the national delegations to the Council meeting were:

The Honourable Paul Hasluck,
Minister for External Affairs of Australia;

The Honourable D.J. Eyre,
Minister of Defence of New Zealand;

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,
Foreign Minister of Pakistan;

The Honourable Librado D. Cayco,
Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines;

His Excellency Mr. Thanat Khoman,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand;

The Right Honourable Michael Stewart,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom;

The Honourable George W. Ball,
Under Secretary of State of the United States.

Observers were:–

His Excellency M. Achille Clarac,
Council Representative for France;

His Excellency Mr. Vu-Van-Mau,
Ambassador of the Republic of Viet-Nam in London.

Military Advisers' 22nd Conference: Final Communique

London, April 30 – South-East Asia Treaty Organization's 22nd Military Advisers' Conference ended here to-day.

The conference, with Admiral Sir Varyl Begg as Chairman, was the first to be held in the United Kingdom since SEATO was formed ten years ago. As a bi-annual event, the conference provides for formal consideration and revision of plans, thus further consolidating military planning activities continually being undertaken at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok. These conferences also enable direction to be given to the Military Planning Office for its future work.

Military Advisers are in close contact directly and through their representative staffs in Bangkok throughout the year.

Main discussions at the conference were:

Problems affecting the security of SEATO Treaty Area.

Progress made in military planning to further strengthen defence of the Treaty Area.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, addressed the delegates. A report on the activities of the SEATO Military Planning Office was presented by the Chief, Military Planning Office, Major-General H.A. Prince.

Delegates noted that recent SEATO military exercises were of great value in providing experience in combined operations. The conference agreed that a program of exercises would be continued as part of the normal training schedule with a view to meeting specific defence needs and to increasing the military capabilities of the Alliance. Already 29 exercises involving SEATO member countries have been held. The 30th, a combined maritime exercise in the South China Sea, begins on May 12.

Military Advisers bade farewell to the Pakistan Military Adviser, Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan and the United Kingdom Military Adviser, Admiral Begg, and expressed appreciation for their valuable contributions to SEATO.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who is Chief of the Air Staff and Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, relinquishes his military advisory appointment when he retires in July. He has been a SEATO Military Adviser for eight years.

Admiral Begg, United Kingdom Commander-in-Chief, Far East, shortly takes up an appointment in England.

A warm expression of thanks also was made to the United Kingdom Government for the courtesy and hospitality extended to the delegates and for the excellent facilities provided for the conference.

Military Advisers who attended the conference were:

Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger, KBE, CB, DSO, AFC (Australia);

Major General L.W. Thornton, CB, CBE (New Zealand);

Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan, H.Pk. HQA (Pakistan);

General Alfredo M. Santos (Philippines);

Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapaya (Thailand);

SEATO Military Advisers pictured on the main staircase of Lancaster House, London, before the first session of their 22nd meeting. Left to right: Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp (U.S.), Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger (Australia), Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya (Thailand), General Alfredo M. Santos (Philippines), Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon, SEATO Secretary-General, Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan (Pakistan), Admiral Sir Varyl Begg (U.K., conference chairman), Major-General L.W. Thornton (New Zealand), Colonel R. Pialat (French observer) and Major-General H.A. Prince, Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office.

U.S. Policy in South-East Asia

The text of an address on South-East Asia prepared for delivery by President Johnson at Johns Hopkins University.

BALTIMORE, Md., April 7 – Last week 17 nations sent their views to some dozen countries having interest in South-East Asia. We are joining these 17 countries in stating our American policy which we believe will contribute toward peace in this area.

Tonight I want to review once again with my own people the views of your government.

Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change. This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania It is the principle for which our sons fight in the jungles of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is far from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men – born into an America bursting with opportunity and promise – have ended their lives on Viet-Nam's steaming soil.

Why must we take this painful road? Why must this nation hazard its ease, its interest, and its power for the sake of a people so far away? We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And

---

(*Continued from previous page*)

Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, KCB, DSO, DSC (United Kingdom);

Admiral U.S. Grant Sharp, USN (United States)
Observer: Colonel R. Pialat (France)

only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure.

This kind of a world will never be built by bombs and bullets. Yet the infirmities of man are such that force must often precede reason – and the waste of war, the works of peace. We wish this were not so. But we must deal with the world as it is, if it is ever to be as we wish.

The Nature of the Conflict

The world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place. The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nation of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest. Of course, some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attacks on their own government. But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from North to South. This support is the heartbeat of the war.

And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to the government. Small and helpless villages are ravaged by sneak attacks. Large scale raids are conducted on towns, and terror strikes in the heart of cities.

The confused nature of this conflict cannot mask the fact that it is the new face of an old enemy. It is an attack by one country upon another. And the object of that attack is a friend to which we are pledged.

Over this war – and all Asia – is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, attacked India, and been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purpose.

Why are We in Viet-Nam ?

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam? We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence. I intend to keep our promise. To dishonour that pledge – to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemy – and to the terror that must follow – would be an unforgivable wrong.

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe – from Berlin to Thailand – are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of American commitment. The result would be increased unrest and instability, or even war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield, means only to prepare for the next. We must say in South-East Asia – as we did in Europe – in the words of the Bible: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further."

There are those who say that all our effort there will be futile – that China's power is such it is bound to dominate all South-East Asia. But there is no end to that argument until all the nations of Asia are swallowed up.

There are those who wonder why we have a responsibility there. We have it for the same reason we have a responsibility for the defence of freedom in Europe. World War II was fought in both Europe and Asia, and when it ended we found ourselves with continued responsibility for the defence of freedom.

Our Objective in Viet-Nam

Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves – only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way. We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is necessary.

In recent months, attacks on South Viet-Nam were stepped up. Thus, it became necessary to increase our response and make attacks by air. This is not a change of purpose. It is a change in what we believe that purpose requires. We do this in order to slow down aggression. We do this to increase the confidence of the brave people of South Viet-Nam who have bravely borne this brutal battle for so many years and with so many casualties. And we do this to convince the leaders of North Viet-Nam – and all who seek to share their conquest – of a simple fact:

We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement.

We know that air attacks alone will not accomplish all these purposes. But it is our best and prayerful judgment that they are a necessary part of the surest road to peace.

We hope that peace will come swiftly. But that is in the hands of others beside ourselves. And we must be prepared for a long continued conflict. It will require patience as well as bravery – the will to endure as well as the will to resist.

I wish it were possible to convince others with words of what we now find it necessary to say with guns and planes: Armed hostility is futile – our resources are equal to any challenge – because we fight for values and a principle, rather than territory or colonies, our patience and determination are unending.

Once this is clear, then it should also be clear that the only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement.

Such peace demands an independent South Viet-Nam securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others – free from outside interference – tied to no alliance – a military base for no other country. These are the essentials of any final settlement. We will never be second in the search for such a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam.

There may be many ways to this kind of peace: In discussion or negotiation with the governments concerned; in large groups or in small ones; in the reaffirmation of old agreements or their strengthening with new ones. We have stated this position over and over again 50 times – and more – to friend and foe alike. And we remain ready–with this purpose – for unconditional discussions.

And until that bright and necessary day of peace we will try to keep conflict from spreading. We have no desire to see thousands die in battle – Asians or Americans. We have no desire to devastate that which the people of North Viet-Nam have built with toil and sacrifice. We will use our power with restraint and with all the wisdom we can command. But we will use it.

This war, like most wars, is filled with terrible irony. For what do the people of North Viet-Nam want? They want what their neighbours also desire: Food for their hunger – health for their bodies and a chance to learn – progress for their country, and an end to the bondage of material misery. And they would find all these things far more readily in peaceful association with others than in the endless course of battle.

These countries of South-East Asia are homes for millions of impoverished people. Each day these people rise at dawn and struggle through weary hours to wrestle existence from the soil. They are often wracked by disease, plagued by hunger, and death comes early, at the age of 40.

Stability and peace do not come easily in such a land. Neither independence nor human dignity will be won by arms alone. It also requires the works of peace. The American people have helped generously in these works. Now there must be a much more massive effort to improve the life of man in the conflict-torn corner of the world.

The first step is for the countries of South-East Asia to associate themselves in a greatly expanded cooperative effort for development. We would hope that North Viet-Nam will take its place in the common effort just as soon as peaceful cooperation is possible.

The United Nations is already actively engaged in development in this area. I would hope that the Secretary-General of the United Nations could use the prestige of his great office – and his deep knowledge of Asia – to initiate, as soon as possible, with the countries of the area, a plan for cooperation in increased development.

For our part I will ask the Congress to join in a billion dollar American investment in this effort when it is underway. And I hope all other industrialized countries – including the Soviet Union – will join in this effort to replace despair with hope, and terror with progress.

The task is nothing less than to enrich the hopes and existence of more than 100 million people. And there is much to be done.

The vast Mekong River can provide food and water and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA. The wonders of modern medicine can be spread through villages where thousands die for lack of care. Schools can be established to train people in the skills needed to manage the process of development. And these objectives, and more, are within the reach of a cooperative and determined effort.

I also intend to expand and speed up a program to make available our farm surplus to assist in feeding and clothing the needy in Asia. We should not allow people to go hungry and naked while our own

warehouses overflow with an abundance of wheat and corn, rice and cotton.

I will very shortly name a special team of patriotic and distinguished Americans to inaugurate our participation in these programs. This team will be headed by Mr. Eugene Black, the very able former President of the World Bank.

In areas still ripped by conflict, development will not be easy. Peace will be necessary for final success. But we cannot wait for peace to begin the job.

The Dream of World Order

This will be a disorderly planet for a long time. In Asia, as elsewhere, the forces of the modern world are shaking old ways and uprooting ancient civilizations. There will be turbulence and struggle and even violence. Great social change – as we see in our own country – does not always come without conflict.

We must also expect that nations will on occasion be in dispute with us. It may be because we are rich, or powerful – or because we have made mistakes – or because they honestly fear our intentions. However, no nation need ever fear that we desire their land, or to impose our will, or to dictate their institutions.

But we will always oppose the effort of one nation to conquer another. We will do this because our own security is at stake.

But there is more to it than that. For our generation has a dream. It is a very old dream. But we have the power and the opportunity to make it real.

For centuries nations have struggled among each other. But we dream of a world where disputes are settled by law and reason. And we will try to make it so. For most of history men have hated and killed one another in battle. But we dream of an end to war. And we will try to make it so. For all existence most men have lived in poverty, threatened by hunger. But we dream of a world where all are fed and charged with hope. And we will help to make it so.

Possibilities of Peace

The ordinary men and women of North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam – of China and India – or Russia and America – are brave people. They are filled with the same proportions of hate and fear, of love and hope. Most of them want the same things for themselves and their families. Most of them do not want their sons to die in battle, or see the homes of others destroyed.

This can be their world yet. Man now has the knowledge – always before denied – to make this planet serve the real needs of the people who live on it.

I know this will not be easy. I know how difficult it is for reason to guide passion, and love to master hate. The complexities of this world do not bow easily to pure and consistent answers. But the simple truths are there just the same. We must all try to follow them as best we can.

We often say how impressive power is. But I do not find it impressive. The guns and bombs, the rockets and warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly.

A dam built across a great river is impressive.

In the countryside where I was born, I have seen the night illuminated, the kitchens warmed and the homes heated, where once the cheerless night and the ceaseless cold held sway. And all this happened because electricity came to our town along the humming wires of the rural electrification administration. Electrification of the countryside is impressive.

A rich harvest in a hungry land is impressive.

The sight of healthy children in a classrom is impressive.

These – not mighty arms – are the achievements which the American nation believes to be impressive. And – if we are steadfast – the time may come when all other nations will also find it so.

We may well be living in the time foretold many years ago when it was said: "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live."

This generation of the world must choose: Destroy or build, kill or aid, hate or understand. We can do all these things on a scale never dreamed of before. We will choose life. And so doing we will prevail over the enemies within man, and over the natural enemies of all mankind.

Vietnam:

President's Statement

Washington, March 26 – The text of a statement by President Johnson on Viet-Nam:

1. It is important for us all to keep a cool and clear view of the situation in Viet-Nam.

2. The central cause of the danger there is aggression by communists against a brave and independent people. There are other difficulties in Viet-Nam, of course, but if that aggression is stopped, the people and government of South Viet-Nam will be free to settle their own future, and the need for supporting American military action there will end.

3. The people who are suffering from this communist aggression are Vietnamese. This is no struggle of white men against Asians. It is aggression by communist totalitarians against their independent neighbours. The main burden of resistance has fallen on the people and soldiers of South Viet-Nam. We Americans have lost hundreds of our own men there, and we mourn them. But the free Vietnamese have lost tens of thousands, and the aggressors and their dupes have lost still more. These are the bloody costs of the conspiracy directed from the North. This is what has to be stopped.

4. The United States still seeks no wider war. We threaten no regime and covet no territory. We have worked and will continue to work for a reduction of tensions, on the great stage of the world. But the aggression from the North must be stopped. That is the road to peace in South-East Asia.

5. The United States looks forward to the day when the people and governments of all South-East Asia may be free from terror, subversion, and assassination – when they will need no military support and assistance against aggression, but only economic and social cooperation for progress in peace. Even now, in Viet-Nam and elsewhere, there are major programs of development which have the cooperation and support of the United States. Wider and bolder programs can be expected in the future from Asian leaders and Asian councils – and in such programs we would want to help. This is the proper business of our future cooperation.

6. The United States will never be second in seeking a settlement in Viet-Nam that is based on an end of communist aggression. As I have said in every part of the Union, I am ready to go anywhere at any time and meet with anyone whenever there is promise of progress towards an honourable peace. We have said many times – to all who are interested in our principles for honourable negotiation – that we seek no more than a return to the essentials of the agreements of 1954 – a reliable arrangement to guarantee the [independence and security of all in South-East Asia. At present the communist aggressors have given no sign of any willingness to move in this direction, but as they recognize the costs of their present course, and their own true interest in peace, there may come a change – if we all remain united.

7. Meanwhile, as I said last year and again last week, "it is and it will remain the policy of the United States to furnish assistance to support South Viet-Nam for as long as is required to bring communist aggression and terrorism under control." The military actions of the United States will be such, and only such, as serve that purpose – at the lowest possible cost in human life to our allies, to our own men, and to our adversaries, too.

British Policy on Vietnam

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, stated in the House of Commons at the end of March that Britain's policy "remains to continue contact and consultation with those most concerned in an effort to discover whether there might be a possible basis for negotiating a settlement" over Vietnam.

He was asked if, in the light of British co-chairmanship of the 1954 Geneva Conference, he would make a statement about the Government's policy towards the reported Franco-Soviet mediation proposals on Vietnam.

Mr. Wilson replied: "I have seen reports of consultations on Vietnam between the French and Soviet Governments but I have not seen that these have yet led to any specific proposals.

"Indeed, Mr. Gromyko made it clear in response to our own ideas when he was in London that the Soviet Government are not yet ready to cooperate in a constructive capacity in the promotion of a negotiated settlement."

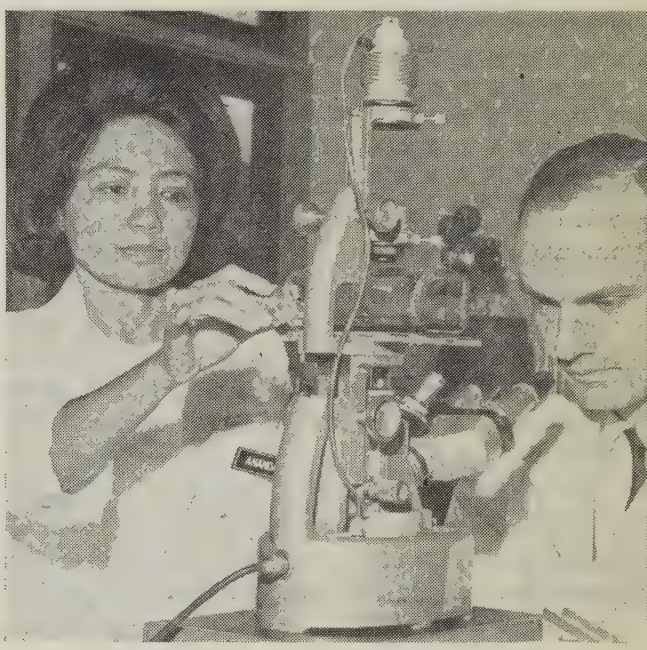
To a questioner who congratulated Mr. Wilson and Mr. Stewart (the Foreign Secretary) "on continued support of American policy" but commented the danger was that the situation could "get out of control", the Prime Minister said he thought the whole House would endorse this and the Foreign Secretary's "very frank statement in America about the necessity to consult us and other allies, and the world in general about the actions that were taken."

Six New Zealand parliamentarians visited SEATO Headquarters on March 31 in the course of a fact-finding and goodwill mission. Left to right: SEATO Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. D.A. Wraight, Mr. P. Blanchfield M.P., Mr. H.V. Donald M.P., Mr. Allan McCready M.P. Sir Basil Arthur M.P., SEATO Secretary-General, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkon, New Zealand Ambassador Sir Stephen Weir, Mr. J.R. Harrison M.P. and Mr. R.L. Bailey M.P.

Antonia Ma. Bautista of San Jacinto, Pangasianan, Philippines, cultivated this rice himself while working for a master's degree at Kasetsart University, Bangkok, under the SEATO post-graduate scholarship program. Mr. Bautista, who wrote his thesis on rice blast resistance and the effect of gamma radiation on plant growth, has returned to the Philippines to enter a combined career of practical farming, teaching and research.

H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakorn, Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, presented master's degree certificates to 37 students from Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia, at the annual graduation ceremony of the SEATO Graduate School of Engineering in Bangkok. Prince Wan is shown here addressing the graduates.

Staff of the SEATO Vehicle Rebuild Workshop at Rangsit, near Bangkok, unpack machine tool equipment under the supervision of Warrant Officer H.B. Barnett. Ten Australian Army officers and warrant officers are supervising the installation of equipment and the training of staff at this new Thai-Australian project.



Dr. Scott B. Halstead of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok, spoke on haemorrhagic fever at the dedication of a new laboratory of epidemiology and public health at the Yale Medical School in the United States on April 11. Shown here with Dr. Halstead is Dr. Ananda Nisalak who has assisted him in his pioneer work on the epidemiology and virology of haemorrhagic fever.

Boys and girls from secondary schools in Khonkaen take part in the first all-television series of SEATO general knowledge quiz programs, and the first to be staged outside Bangkok. The series was presented by TVT Channel 5, Khonkaen, the North-East region's television station.

(*Continued from page 31*)

Mr. Wilson went on: "The Foreign Secretary's words have been very valuable... I have said many times that when things have reached this very substantial change on both sides there is a continuing danger."

Asked to "confirm that Britain wholly supported the American action" the Prime Minister replied: "I have said a number of times that we fully support the action of the United States in resisting aggression in Vietnam. But the Foreign Secretary said the other day, and I hope he was speaking for the whole House, that we had certain reservations which we very frankly expressed about one particular action."

Need to Stop Fighting

He declared: "There are some extremely serious things being done on the other side in Vietnam and this is why we want to stop all the fighting and all the use of weapons."

To the Liberal Party leader, Mr. Jo Grimond, who asked Mr. Wilson to make it clear that to have reservations was not necessarily to be anti-American, the Prime Minister stated: "I have said all of us want a peaceful settlement but we have different views about it.

"I entirely agree that one of the purposes of alliance and friendship is the ability to be able to speak frankly with each other, agreeing on basic issues, but one must be free to speak.

"But anything to be said on this should be said preferably in private than in any public discussion."

Australian View U.S. Action "Necessary"

Canberra, March 23 – The following is an extract from a speech by the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Hasluck, to the Australian Parliament on situations concerning Thailand and South Viet-Nam:

Peking has recently served notice that Thailand is in danger of becoming the object of what might be called conquest by subversion. Chinese radio and news agencies are now publishing the program of an organisation describing itself as the "Thailand Patriotic Front" which, from Peking, calls for the overthrow of what it calls the "fascist" Thai Government. Radio Hanoi is also broadcasting the same material.

We are told from time to time that while external aid can help, it is for the people of South Viet-Nam themselves to establish a political regime which will withstand internal subversion. We must remember, however, that the South Vietnamese are not dealing simply with a situation of local unrest, but with a large-scale campaign of assassination and terrorism directed from outside. It would be a dangerous thing to argue that, because subversive elements inspired from outside have achieved some success in creating instability within a country, these elements thereby earn the right to become the government of that country. In South Viet-Nam, one may ask what future security, freedom and religious tolerance there would be for the millions of people who have committed themselves to resistance against Communism. It is also unrealistic to claim that if only the influence of the Great Powers were removed there would be a sudden and blissful peace in South Viet-Nam. To whom would withdrawal leave the land? Not to the local population.

In the circumstances that now exist, the United States could not withdraw from South Viet-Nam without abandoning the responsibilities that belong to power or the principles they are trying to uphold. The United States could not withdraw without necessarily considering the world-wide impact of such a withdrawal on the broader strategies of world politics. If the United States did withdraw, the same conflict would be renewed somewhere else. Within a brief period, the struggle now taking place in South Viet-Nam would be shifted to Thailand. If there was an abandonment of Thailand, it would shift to Malaysia, to Indonesia, to Burma, to India and, further, nothing would be ended and no stability would be achieved by yielding in South Viet-Nam.

It is not a valid policy to call for negotiation unless there is a clear idea of what is to be the outcome of negotiation. If negotiation is simply to mean ane nd of resistance to aggression and the success of aggression, then a plainer word for it would be defeat for those resisting Asian Communism.

Australia's own analysis of the situation has brought us to the belief that the United States' action is necessary for the defeat of aggression against Asian peoples and is also an essential step towards the building in Asia of the conditions of peace and progress. (AIS)

Press Queries

Washington, March 29 – Excerpts from the remarks of Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy to newsmen at the White House in response to questions on the President's statement of March 25:

Q. Mr. Bundy, in point 6 of this Viet-Nam statement, in this whole paragraph, can you explain to us whether this expresses a greater willingness to discuss how negotiations might be begun or is this simply another statement if the Viet Cong give up insurgency we will negotiate?

A. It doesn't say that. It says what we seek is return to the essentials of 1954. These are things we said many times. It is important to keep them clearly stated and in our judgment it is in the true interest of all in South-East Asia to get that kind of reliable settlement is what it says.

Q. It also says he sees no sign in communist willingness to move in this direction.

A. That is correct. We continue to express our views what the right kind of settlement is. We continue to persevere in our course in Viet-Nam and our efforts to create a situation in which others will be ready to work for a reliable settlement.

Q. In point number 5 here, when you talk about economic and social cooperation for all of South-East Asia, would you be willing, are you thinking here of possibly including North Viet-Nam in such a proposal should North Viet-Nam withdraw its support of the Viet Cong and should there be some sort of stabilizing agreement in South-East Asia?

A. I think what the paragraph says is when people and governments of all South-East Asia, and goes on, may be free from and be able to engage in social economic cooperation, I think the paragraph means what it says, when we can get to that kind of situation, if cooperative programs come forward, in such programs – and in reading this to the Cabinet the President gave some emphasis to it in such programs we would want to help...

Q. Point No. 5 again, I don't recall the President or the Secretary of State in any of their recent discussions of Viet-Nam have made quite this point this way, is that right? Is that a hint we are going to help?

A. Something of this sort has been in earlier statements but I think it is fair to say this paragraph is an important one.

Washington, April 7 – Excerpts from the interview of Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy, on the April 4 "Meet the Press" television program on the NBC network:

Q: Last week President Johnson called for a "return to the essentials of the 1954 agreement on Viet-Nam." Can you tell us what these essentials are?

A: Well, I think the simplest and shortest summary is in the next clause of that same statement: A reliable arrangement to guarantee the independence and security of all in South-East Asia...

Q: When we speak of a reliable arrangement in South-East Asia, don't we really mean that we want an independent South Viet-Nam and a non-communist South Viet-Nam?

A: We want a South Viet-Nam, I think, which is free to determine its own destiny. Our belief is that the desire of the people in government of that area is very plainly not to be dominated by the communists or indeed dominated by anyone but it is their right to choose their own course that is at stake here.

Q: That is that we would even tolerate some form of union with North Viet-Nam if they devised a way of doing it?

A: I don't think we have ever felt that there was any bar in the long run to working out a future of Viet-Nam which would not necessarily be divided. The obstacles to that at present are obvious. I would repeat that the future of South Viet-Nam in our view is a matter which should be left to the South Vietnamese, and that is precisely the heart of the present trouble...

In the case of the decisions we have made to take air action north of the demarcation line, there are many who have felt honest concern. In so far as that concern springs from worry over the peace of the world, it is a concern we all share. No one more than the President. In so far as it represents honest pacifism, and complete pacifism, while I don't agree with it, I can certainly respect it. But insofar as it seems to suggest that there is something all right about what has been happening in South Viet-Nam and about the campaign of terror and aggression, the

bombing in the streets of innocent civilians, assassinations in the night, that this is somehow something that doesn't matter, and that air action against carefully selected targets is somehow less moral, then I have to say, I don't understand it at all.

Q: I'd like to ask whether two months after the decision was made to go north of the parallel with air attacks, the reaction that we have had in Hanoi, in Peking and in Moscow has been what you expected?

A: I think that the reactions have been not more warlike than we expected and I think I can say also that some of those who say that our current line of policy has failed are assuming that it was decided in the view that there would be immediate or sudden or startling changes in the diplomatic and political situation. That is not our feeling. It has been our conviction from the first that this may be a long and a hard problem and that changes of the kind that have occurred in the last two months, tactical changes in a continuing policy must be measured against the fact that this is not an easy situation, it is one which will take stamina.

Q: In 1950 the Chinese unexpectedly entered that war in Korea. Do you feel that today, 15 years later, the Chinese would risk more, would risk less, or would face roughly the same proportion of risk if they entered the war in Viet-Nam that they faced in 1950 in Korea?

A: The two situations are not comparable in a number of ways, and I think I can say that it would be a mistake to suppose that the exact rules which governed that contest in Korea 15 years ago could be expected to govern if others went to an enlarged aggression now. Even in Korea, the declaration of July, 1953, of the 16 nations working under the United Nations Command, made it clear that if there were a renewal of aggression, the rules of protection and sanctuary might not apply.

Q: If North Viet-Nam leaves its neigbours alone as we demand before negotiations, what will we negotiate on?

A: Once we have reliable evidence that there is a will to work in that direction, then there are what the diplomats call the modalities. How do you make sure that there has been a stop to some of the things that are a part of this aggression, to infiltration of troops and supplies, to the operation of command and control from the North? How do you make progress toward a durable pacification of the countryside? How do you work out international ways and means of assurance against a renewal of this kind of threat to the peace?

These are difficult and important and demanding tasks. They will all become quite do-able once there is a will.

Q: What would the North Vietnamese get, if anything, in the kind of negotiations we really want?

A: Well, I would think that it was genuinely in their interest, in the interest of the people and of the regime in the long pull of that area, not to be in the situation in which their acts of aggression do bring danger to them and to the area and do carry costs. I would think further that there was no reason to suppose that one could not develop, over time, patterns of cooperation in South-East Asia among independent peoples and governments there which would work to the advantage of all in the area.

Q: I take it you are referring to President Johnson's promise of American aid the other day, which would benefit all of South-East Asia, including North Viet-Nam.

Can you tell us whether he meant that the United States would give aid to North Viet-Nam if it stopped its aggression?

A: Well, what the President said, and this was a point which he, I am sure, stated exactly the way he wished to state it – was the problem of development there – and it is an area where there are enormous needs, where there is a great backlog of human suffering and of human poverty and of ignorance and of disease, and where there are also great natural riches, it is an area which the President has seen and studied at first hand and he knows and understands resources in the same way in this area as he does in our own country's use of its natural resources. His feeling is, however, that this area belongs to the Asians and as he put it, it is for Asian leaders and Asian councils to decide how they will cooperate and exactly who will be a part of that cooperation.

Q: I would like to get into the question of tension between the Soviet Union and Communist China, as the war in Viet-Nam bears on that tension.

Would you say that the first interests of the Soviet Union would be in an achievement over there, a victory by the North Vietnamese regime assisted by the Communist Chinese, a victory in that war? Would this help the Soviet Union's foreign policy in your opinion...

A: The division of purpose and the difference of

objective between the Soviet Union and the Communist Chinese is now very deep. It goes right to the fundamental question of their contest for leadership in the communist world. I do not believe that the actions and policies of the United States in defending the people and government in South Viet-Nam have in any sense changed that fundamental difference, and I think that implies that there would be reluctance on one side to see the influence of the other expanded.

Q: I wonder if the U.S. Government is thoroughly exploring all aspects of reports that the North Vietnamese Government might indeed be changing its tune. I am thinking of the British member of parliament who last week reportedly was told by Ho Chi Minh that he would be willing to negotiate if we would stop our raids in the North. Are we sending out any feelers ourselves. Is there no indication at all of any willingness on their part at this stage ?

A: Of course we have our ears open. We are in close and constant communication with many other governments which have their ears open and there is no shortage of channels of international communication. I would have to say also, however, that at this stage we have no information which confirms to us the kind of reports of which you speak, from the United Kingdom and elsewhere...

Q: Are the people supporting the position on Viet-Nam.

A: It is my clear impression from all indicators that the course of the United States as laid out by the President does have, fundamentally, the confidence and the support of the American people.

Support for U.S. Stand

President Diosdado Macapagal has described President Johnson's policy address on South Viet-Nam as heartening. He said the Filipino people would do well to note Mr. Johnson's statement that America will stay in South Viet-Nam as long as necessary to ensure that the Vietnamese are free to shape their own destiny.

The President said: "America's determination as expressed by President Johnson to also keep the American pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence is a reassurance that the Philippines hardly needs but which is sure to hearten the nations of South-East Asia who have fallen under the shadow of the Communist menace."

He asserted: "The Phillippines joins America in the dream of a world order of peace and freedom for all nations, knowing fully well what the struggle towards that goal means.

"The Philippines believes in an alliance of free nations for progress and the Philippines, together with other free countries, seeks in every way and with every means to help give the suppressed peoples of the world, and especially in North Viet-Nam, the essential needs of food, clothing, shelter, and an end to their bondage to material misery."

* * *

British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, said on April 15 that the British Government warmly welcomed President Johnson's statement on Viet-Nam. He had particularly liked the President's proposal of an international development program in South-East Asia. Britain "would want to do as much as we can" to assist such efforts, he said.

* * *

American intervention in Viet-Nam was the greatest act of moral courage since Britain stood alone in the last world war, the Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Menzies, said in Melbourne on April 4. "Americans believe that human freedom is being challenged, and that challenge must be met". On April 13, in Canberra, Sir Robert said the Australian Government warmly supported the views expressed by President Johnson in his speech at Johns Hopkins University on April 4.

Philippine aid to Viet-Nam

President Diosdado Macapagal said on March 27 that he would personally favour sending Philippine troops to South Viet-Nam "if it is called for by the situation."

He emphasized that the dispatch of troops would require action by the Philippine Congress.

"We would consult with Congress if a request comes to do anything beyond our treaty obligations," he added.

He did not elaborate on what manner of situation would have to arise to entail the sending of troops from the Philippines and indicated that he has no intention at this time of making any such request of the Philippine Congress.

Asked about the possibility of sending troops, he

replied: "We have doubled our civic action in South Viet-Nam (where the Philippines have long been sending technical personnel). Whether it is necessary to send troops would require congressional action."

The President strongly opposed any neutralization of Viet-Nam.

Mendez on Neutralization

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mauro Mendez, in a speech delivered before the Philippine Society of International Law and the Philippine Commission of Jurists, virtually debunked the proposals to neutralize South Vietnam.

The Secretary said that if to neutralize a state involves the "formulation and conclusion of a treaty or international agreement embodying the solemn undertakings of the guaranteeing powers to respect the neutral status of that state," then such kind of neutrality cannot be imposed. It has been tried before, according to Mr. Mendez, "but the results have been very discouraging." He cited Laos as an example. Switzerland, on the other hand, is proving its success "because of its favourable geographical location in the Alps, its stable political and social institutions, its vigorous economy, and the determination of its people to defend their motherland."

"A treaty alone," the Foreign Secretary added, "could not have helped Switzerland maintain its firm position in the international community."

Treaties have proved inadequate to safeguard the territorial integrity and political independence of neutralized states, Mr. Mendez also said. He cited historical cases in international law: Poland in 1791, guaranteed by Prussia and Austria, only to be ruined by internal dissension that led to direct Russian intervention; Malta in 1802, guaranteed by France and Britain in the Treaty of Amiens but frustrated by Maltese opposition; Kingdom of Belgium guaranteed by Britain, Austria, France and Prussia in the Treaty of London of 1831 but violated by Germany in 1912, resulting in the First World War, and the supposed "perpetual neutrality" of Luxembourg guaranteed in the Treaty of London of 1867 but violated by the German armour.

"Treaties such as these," Mr. Mendez stressed, "have served to keep the peace for a time, but invariably the people in the neutral state are bound to suffer the consequences of an international rupture."

He also pointed out that it took one year for 13 states to produce the "much-vaunted declaration of neutrality" of Laos. The provisions of the treaty sounded good and noble. "It was hoped," he said, "that with this agreement peace would finally reign in that war-torn area, but Laos being a small, land-locked country with few resources at a low level development, the agreement remains unfulfilled."

In the face of events in Laos, Mr. Mendez asked: "Should plans to neutralize Vietnam be further entertained? Since such plans simply mean the withdrawal of all foreign assistance to South Vietnam while the Viet Congs continue with their depredations and terrorism, should we still give the neutralization idea a try or even a thought?" (Philippine Information Service).

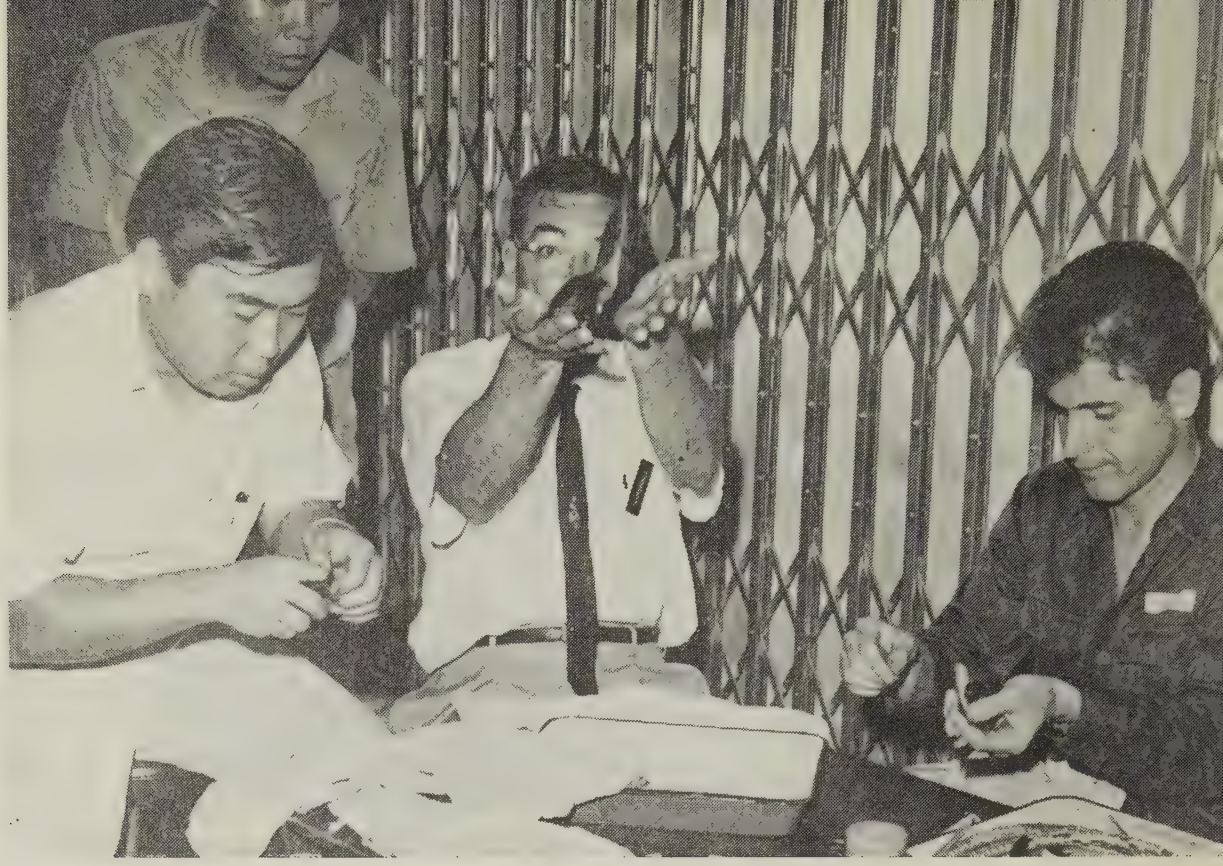
THE RULE OF LAW

New York, March 4 – The U.S. Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk spoke on "some fundamentals of American policy," to the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce. Excerpts are as follows:

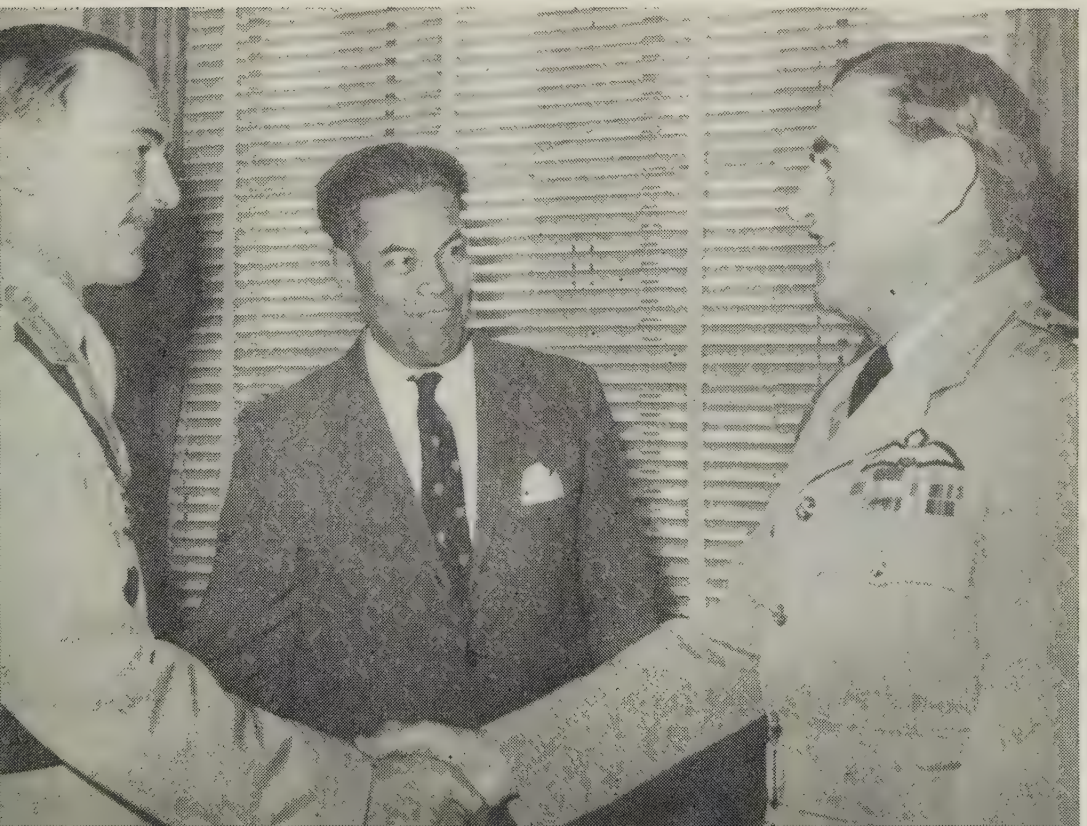
"When we talk about the rule of law, we are talking about the difference between rational behaviour and a regime of the jungle. We know that law enlarges the area of freedom by making it possible to predict with greater confidence the behaviour of others. We can be encouraged by the steady growth of what we call 'the common law of mankind' – not as a disembodied idea, but as a summary of the arrangements by which we facilitate the most practical daily transactions in trade and transportation, in travel and the flow of news, in the elementary defences against epidemic disease, in arrangements for the safety of life at sea and in the air, and in the widest range of intimate concerns of yours which are supported by the more than 4,000 international agreements to which the United States is a party.

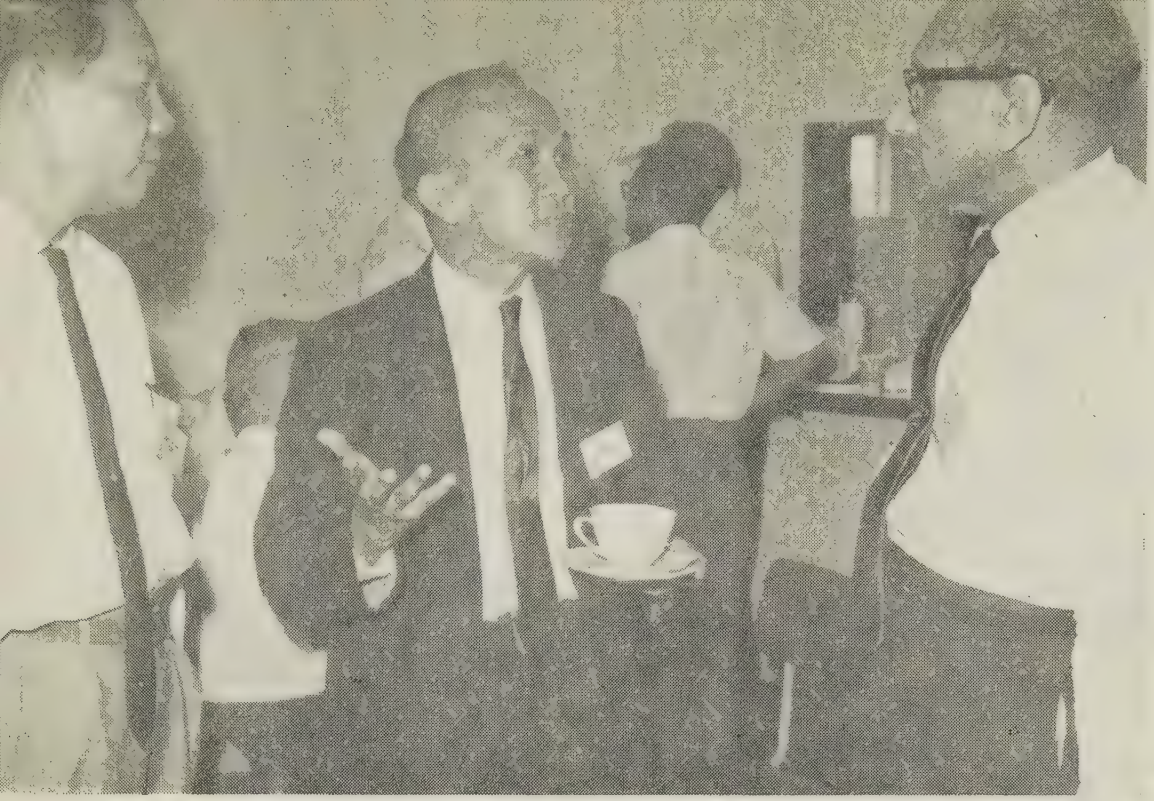
"The simple idea that agreements are made to be kept is the social cement which holds us together, both in our domestic arrangements and in our international affairs. One of the oldest notions of international law, it is a crucial necessity of the world of

Air Vice-Marshal A.M. Murdoch, Chief of Staff-designate of the Royal Australian Air Force; visited Thailand in April. Here he is greeted at SEATO Headquarters by the Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, Major-General H.A. Prince (left) and SEATO Secretary-General, Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon.



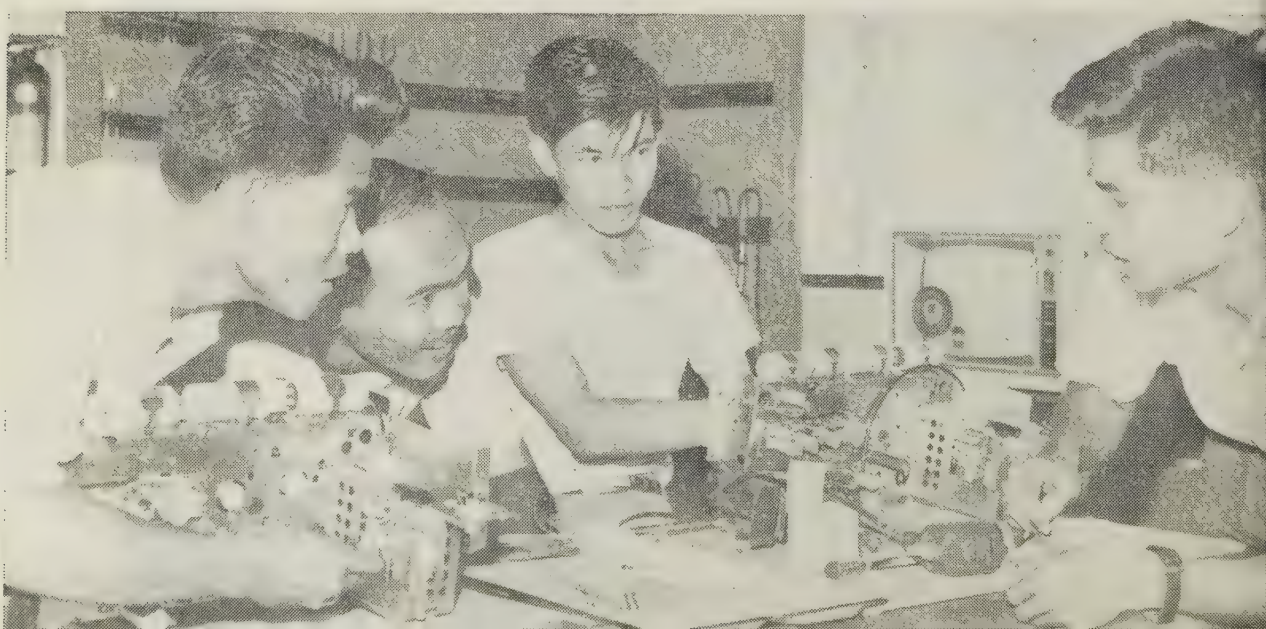
The SEATO Medical Research Laboratory is making a comprehensive study of bird migration and distribution in Thailand, to determine whether birds have a significant place in the spread of diseases. On 19 nights, the laboratory's team netted, banded and released more than 20,000 swallows in downtown Bangkok. Here, Dr. Joe Marshall releases a swallow after banding. His helpers are ornithologist Ben King (right) and Peace Corps volunteer Noel Kobayashi.





Deans and other leading educators from 15 institutions in South-East Asia attended a seminar on engineering education at the SEATO Graduate School of Engineering in Bangkok in March. Three participants shown in informal discussion during a coffee break are (left to right): Dean Piset Pattabhongse, of the Faculty of Engineering, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Dr. Oscar Baguio, Dean of the Engineering College, University of the Philippinese, and Dr. Syed Mahmood Alam, Principal of the N.E.D. Government Engineering College, Karachi, Pakistan.

Eighty-nine teachers from 20 SEATO technical training centres in provincial towns throughout Thailand, attended a seminar at the SEATO Teacher Development Centre in Bangkok. At this session on radio and telecommunications are (left to right): Serm Srilohapan (Songkhla), instructor Thanit Sanetvajaree, Charoon Ruangklin (Tak), and Sanan Chiemmuangpak (Ubol).



tomorrow. Should the simple notion collapse it would be more than a moral setback, important as that would be; the very structure of life would begin to collapse and it would be difficult to find an answer to the question, 'where do we go from here?' This is why it is no small matter for any nation to tear its agreements to shreds and to give vent to the irritations and resentments of the day by retaliating through the destruction of agreements to which one is pledged.

"So, too, with what the United Nations Charter calls 'the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace' theory. Today we can be secure only to the extent that the community of nations is secure – on land, at sea, in the air and the adjoining areas of space. Our object is, and must be, to do what we can to build the kind of world projected in the preamble and Articles 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter – a world of independent national states, each with its own institutions, but cooperating with other nations to further their mutual welfare.....a peaceful world...a world increasingly responsive to the rule of law...a world in which all human beings enjoy their natural rights, regardless of nationality, creed, or colour... a world in which all can share in the abundance which modern science and technology make possible.

An End to Aggression

"If that goal is ever to be achieved – indeed, if freedom is to survive on this small planet – the first essential is to put an end to aggression, if possible by preventing it, if not by defeating it. That, in essence, is the first purpose of the United Nations....

"Outright large-scale aggressions carry with them suicidal risks for the aggressor. But the communists in South-East Asia have fallen back on aggression by the infiltration of arms and trained men across national frontiers. A clear and unequivocal recognition by the rest of the world that this is a form of aggression is long overdue.

"Let me remind you of the central facts about what is going on in South-East Asia. South Viet-Nam is being subjected to an aggression from the North – an aggression organized, directed, and supplied with key personnel and equipment by Hanoi. The hard core of the Viet Cong were trained in the North and have been reinforced by North Vietnamese from the North Vietnamese Army.

"From 1955 to 1959, South Viet-Nam made remarkable economic and social progress. That itself may have encouraged Hanoi, with the backing of Peiping, to launch its increased guerilla aggression in late 1959 and early 1960.

"The Viet Cong rule and recruit largely by terror. There is no indication that they have any major popular following. Pacification of South Viet-Nam would be a relatively simple problem for the South Vietnamese themselves if the intervention from the North were brought to an end.

"In Laos, also, North Viet-Nam has engaged in persistent aggression.

"These aggressions violate not only international law but pledges made by Hanoi and Peiping, among others, in 1954 and 1962.

"The United States seeks no bases or special positions or rights in South-East Asia. Our forces are there to help independent peoples resist aggressions. Our troops could come home tomorrow if the aggressors would go back north and stay at home.

"The defeat of these aggressions is not only essential if Laos and South Viet-Nam are to remain independent. It is important to the security of South-East Asia as a whole. Thailand has already been proclaimed as the next target by Peiping." (USIS)

Communist Threat to Thailand

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., March 14 – Extracts from a speech by Marshall Green, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, before "The Open Forum" in Daytona Beach:

We hear much these days about communist aggression in South-East Asia. For very obvious reasons the focus is on Viet-Nam and to some extent on Laos, but I would like to draw your attention to another area in South-East Asia where Communist China and other Asian communists are involved in expansionism and subversion. I refer to the North-East area of Thailand where there is an impressive and growing array of evidence that Thailand may become an important target for communists. However, this is something that the Thai Government has long foreseen and, with our assistance, has taken effective measures to counteract. Here are some of the facts.

Communist subversive activity within Thailand has centered primarily on the northeastern province of Nakhon Phanom, close to communist-held areas of Laos.

There have been acts of terror. There has been a step-up in attempted recruitment of communist-type cadres among the villagers; and a reported increase in the number of meetings called by communists and communist sympathizers who parrot the communist line and hand out propaganda materials.

There has also been a step-up in the radio propaganda effort. The voices of Radio Peking and Radio Hanoi are strongly heard in North-East Thailand. They are supplemented by a clandestine radio, located in communist-held areas of Laos (and at times in North Viet-Nam), which calls itself the "Voice of the Thai People."

Finally, there have been disturbing indications of Chinese Communist intentions vis-a-vis Thailand. For example, when in January 1965 the clandestine communist radio announced the formation of a "Thai Patriotic Front," with the declared purpose of overthrowing Thailand's government, both Radio Peking and Radio Hanoi repeated the broadcast over their powerful stations and indicated their support of this front group. Further, the Chinese Communists recently purchased one million dollars worth of Thai currency in Hong Kong, for purposes that can only be guessed at. There has been a very great increase recently in the numbers of people being given "Thai language and area training" in Communist China, the purpose of which seems completely clear. In light of these other indications, the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister's reported remark that insurgency may break out in Thailand in 1965 takes on an ominous ring.

What is Thailand doing about this situation? What are we doing about it?

Taking a lesson from what has happened in Viet-Nam and Laos, the Thai for some time have been making a determined and effective effort to remove the economic and social grievances which often make village people vulnerable to the blandishments of communism. They have on their own initiative put into the field in every north-east province bordering on Laos what are called Mobile Development Units (MDU). These MDU's are designed to make an immediate impact upon the villages in the area, both psychological and material. Teams attached to the units visit the villagers in remote areas, discuss their problems with them, and in many cases take steps to meet those problems. They construct village roads, repair or build bridges, build schools, and supply badly needed medical care.

We are backing this Thai effort by supplying equipment for use by these MDU's. We are also engaged with the Thai in the Accelerated Rural Development (ARD) program which will provide the vital follow-through behind the impact projects of the MDU's. The Accelerated Rural Development project will provide public works capability at the provincial level. It will also give provincial officials greater authority and capability in the field of public works, as well as in agriculture, health, education, etc. This decentralization should make the program more effective as well as more responsive to village wants and needs. The leaders of the Thai Government are strongly committed to making this program a success.

The security roads project, which will be completed this year, will for the first time make two areas in North and North-East Thailand – near communist-held territory in Laos – accessible to Thai security forces throughout the year. These roads will also bring as an extra dividend great economic benefits.

In connection with internal security, we are engaged in retraining and re-equipping 16,000 Provincial Police. A similar but more intensive program has been carried out with the 6,300 men of the Border Police.

We have supplied a portable radio transmitter in the North-East to help counter the powerful voices of Radio Peking and Radio Hanoi. This station, broadcasting mostly in the north-east dialect, has become the most popular in the North-East.

On the military side, the Thai are increasingly emphasizing the civic action and counter-insurgency missions of their forces. The Thai armed forces are contributing importantly to the success of the mobile development units, which are a joint civilian-military effort. Our military assistance is aimed at encouraging the Thai to continue in these directions and to make their armed forces more effective.

To sum up, the communist threat to the area is very real, but so are the counter measures being taken to meet that threat. As the intensity of the communist effort increases, it will probably be necessary for the Thai Government to intensify its own efforts. However, the important programs which they have developed over the last few years assure that they will not be caught napping by the communists. A solid basis has been laid for meeting, if necessary, a stronger communist drive.

After all the painful lessons of the past, it is heartening to see a government and people acting in time to protect the freedom and integrity of their nation.

CENTO'S Tenth Anniversary

Ceremonies in the capitals of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, and allied naval visits to ports of the CENTO region marked the tenth anniversary of the Central Treaty Organization on February 24.

In Washington, some 800 guests, including Ambassadors of member countries, members of the Congress and other leaders attended a CENTO evening at the Department of State.

At the Organization's Headquarters in Ankara, a reception was honoured by the presence of the new Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, the Deputy Prime Minister, senior diplomats and high ranking military officers from the CENTO countries.

Allied warships steamed into key ports in Iran, Pakistan and Turkey for colourtul ceremonial naval visits in honour of the anniversary. Iranian, British and American vessels called at Karachi, British and American ships at Abadan, and Turkish, British and American vessels participated at Iskenderun. Traditional naval ceremonials, receptions, sporting events and sight-seeing by mixed groups of allied sailors were highlights of the day in the various port cities.

Congratulatory messages from all five CENTO associated countries were received by the Secretary General, most of them echoing his emphasis on the future of the alliance. Excerpts from these messages:

Regional Stability

"It is readily perceivable that the alliance has achieved its primary objective of contributing effectively to the stability of the region and by extension to peace and stability of the international community. Significant though this achievement is, it represents but part of CENTO's accomplishment. The Organization has proved to be much more than a defensive device. Constant efforts are being made by the Central Treaty Organization to bring the countries of the region closer together through the implementation of a vast network of land, rail and aerial communications... Mr. Secretary General, I am optimistic about the future of our alliance." – *Prime Minister of Iran, Mr. Amir Abbas Hoveida.*

Closer Understanding

"CENTO also fosters economic and cultural cooperation among its regional members. I am glad that, by undertaking a number of economic projects and cultural programmes, it has contributed towards the promotion of economic development, technical cooperation and closer understanding among its regional members. I hope the economic activities of CENTO will gather momentum." *Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto.*

Praiseworthy Progress

"I am fully convinced that as an instrument to promote closer cooperation and better understanding among its members, CENTO has in the past ten years achieved continuous and praiseworthy progress...

"Furthermore, the manifestations of this close association and the cooperation successfully carried out in various fields of economic life, especially in the fields of communications, agriculture, health, education and science, resulting in the promotion of prosperity and welfare in the member countries are certainly encouraging achievements conducive to further and closer collaboration between these countries." – *Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Suat Hayri Ürgüplü.*

Confidence in Future

"CENTO has provided a framework of security from external aggression for a vital area of the free world; it has built up political and economic cooperation within that framework; and, in support of national development plans, it has made essential contributions to the striking economic progress of the regional countries. The manifestations of the CENTO economic programme provide the most immediate evidence of the alliance's work. Against this beckground we can look forward to the future with every confidence." – *Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson.*

Full U.S. Support

"In these ten years, CENTO has made an important contribution to the preservation of peace and to the economic welfare of its regional members. One measure of CENTO's success is the fact that the Treaty area has not been subjected to Communist aggression since the alliance was formed; other parts of the Free World have not been so fortunate. Moreover, behind this shield of security the CENTO countries have been

S.E. ASIA: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE

by Donn V. Hart

This article by Professor Hart has been made available by SOCIAL EDUCATION, the journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, published in collaboration with the American Historical Association, Washington.

South-East Asia is no longer a far away land inhabited by peoples with customs of long ago. The region is an arena of international conflict. One cannot glance at the daily newspaper without reading of the war in Vietnam or the difficulties of maintaining a precarious peace in Laos. South-East Asia is a land of experimentation and change as illustrated by the recent emergence of Malaysia. The United States is deeply committed to South-East Asia as symbolized by our resident Peace Corps and military corps. Our government is aiding the improvement of agricultural production, modernization of public administration procedures, or supporting community development programs. The futures of both South-East Asia and the United States are firmly linked.

Young Americans today must be intelligently aware and broadly informed about the past and present achievements and problems of South-East Asia. Understandably, for many this region is a "puzzlement." Teachers in many high schools and universities were trained when references to South-East Asia, for example, were an isolated reference to the Philippines as part of the discussion of the Spanish-American War. Before the last war, few colleges and universities offered systematic instruction on this region. South-East Asian history was briefly mentioned as a minor aspect of the West's colonial expansion into Asia. South-East Asian geography was a hurried trip between India and China.

(*Continued from previous page*)

able to work together for economic development and a fuller and better life for the people of the region.

"It is my sincere hope that CENTO will continue to play its important role in our unfinished task of securing peace and prosperity in a still troubled and hungry world. The alliance has the full support of the United States in its continuing efforts toward these ends." – *President of the United States, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson.*

Teaching materials about South-East Asia for the high school, or the university, were uneven, inadequate, and scarce. This situation has been drastically altered.

Since the last war a steady stream of books and articles has been published about South-East Asia. University curricula have been expanded to cover both the region and individual countries... Students now have the opportunity, the texts, and the teachers to study Burmese, Tagalog, and Indonesian. Government and private foundations send young scholars to live in South-East Asian villages and cities, to study at first-hand the people, their problems, and achievements.

Neglect of South-East Asia cannot be excused now for lack of available, English-language published sources suitable for the beginning student.

The purpose of this introduction is to suggest, mainly for the non-specialist on this region, some general sources and bibliographies on South-East Asia. Both the social sciences and humanities are included. Materials have been selected from those sources published in English (mainly in the United States) during the past decade, that are in print or available in many good-sized libraries, and are most useful to the social studies teacher. Sources appropriate for high school students are starred (*). Of course, some students can read materials recommended for the teacher. The most useful general bibliographies for the region are listed for each South-East Asian nation, when available. These bibliographies enable teachers to locate needed sources that space prevents including.

For teachers wishing a model resource unit on this region, attention is directed to *Southeast Asia: A Resource Unit for Secondary Schools* (World Affairs Materials, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York, revised ed., 1959). This mimeographed unit discusses organization, activities, and objectives of a unit on South-East Asia, listing materials, including films, filmstrips, and recordings.[2] Reference is made to three useful guides to Asia that include materials on individual South-East Asian nations: *An Introductory Reading Guide to Asia* (New York: The Asia Society, 2nd rev. ed., 1962) and *Books on Asia for Children: A Selected Reading List* (New York: The Asia Society, 1961). The latter guide lists both fiction and non-fiction for readers from the ages of 6-15 years. A new *Guide to Paperbacks on Asia* (New York: The Asia Society,

1964) has been issued that includes selected annotated inexpensive sources on individual South-East Asian countries.[3]

General Southeast Asian Sources

In the last several years two books consisting largely of superb photographs of South-East Asia have been published. The Buell book deals individually with various South-East Asian nations whereas the Karnow source takes a topic approach. In both books an intelligent commentary is published along with the black and white and colored (Karnow) photographs. The photographs in the Buell book emphasize young people. These books are exceedingly valuable for both teacher and student: Hal Buell, *Main Streets of Southeast Asia** (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1962) and Stanley Karnow and The Editors of *Life, Southeast Asia** (New York: Time Incorporated, 1962).

The Author, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Syracuse University, is presently in the Philippines under the Fulbright program, doing research in village life. Professor Hart investigated rural life in the Philippines in 1950-51, 1955-56, and taught at the University of the Philippines in 1956-57. Author of the recent book, **The Riddle in Filipino Folklore: An Anthropological Analysis** *(Syracuse University Press, 1964) he has travelled extensively in mainland South-East Asia. This article is a thorough revision of the first bibliography that appeared in SOCIAL EDUCATION, V. XXVI, No. 6 (October, 1962).*

Two massive histories of South-East Asia are Daniel G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (New York; St. Martin's Press, 2nd ed., 1964) and John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). Hall's new revision includes the Philippines, omitted in the first edition. Both of these scholarly histories have lengthy bibliographies, making them excellent sources for references. For a beginner, it is recommended that Brian Harrison's shorter, more generalized, but soundly researched book be read: *South-East Asia: A Short History** (New York: St. Martin's).

Standard histories of individual South-East Asian countries, when available, are listed under their appropriate country sections. A general summary of the basic historical contours of both pre-war and post-war South-East Asia is made in Claude A. Buss, *South-East Asia and the World Today** (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1953). About one-half of this paperback is readings from the basic document* and political pronouncements of South-East Asian leaders. *Current History** has devoted complete issues to South and South-East Asia (February, 1960, November, 1962, and February, 1964) where various authors discuss such subjects as Malaysia, U.S. policy in South-East Asia, dictatorship in Burma, etc.

For brief, but authoritative, summaries of the history, geography, economic development, education, and foreign affairs of the following countries, and available from the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington 25, D.C., consult: *Burma** (Pub. 7474), *Cambodia** (Pub. 7471), *Indonesia** (Pub. 7275), *Laos** (Pub. 7484), *Malaya** (Pub. 7475), *The Philippines** (Pub. 1780), and *Vietnam** (Pub. 1769). For current, and dependable short reports on contemporary affairs in South-East Asia, the publications of the American Universities Field Staff (366 Madison Avenue, New York 10017) are highly recommended. The AUFS states their Reports "are not newsletters... They are, first and foremost, thoughtful studies of the personalities, politics, economics, social forces, and international relations that create headlines." A catalogue of available publications may be secured by writing AUFS. Some of their recent publications on South-East Asia, for example, are: *Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia* (WAF-1 '64) and *Maphilindo: Dream or Achievable Reality* (AR-1 '64).[4]

---

[1]Hart, Donn V., "Southeast Asia: Problems of Information Retrieval, "The American Behavioral Scientist 5 (June, 1962), 28-62. This article discusses some problems of the bibliographical control of Southeast Asian materials.

[2]The following Southeast Asian embassies often furnish teachers with free materials, including lending films: *Burma*: Embassy, 2300 S. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.; *Cambodia*: Embassy, 4500 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.; *Laos*: Embassy, 2222 S. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.; *Malaysia*: Embassy, 2401 Massachusetts Ave:, N.W., Washington, D.C.; *Indonesia*: Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.; *Philippines*: Embassy, 1617 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.; *Thailand*: Embassy, 2490 Tracy Place, N.W., Washington, D.C., *Vietnam*; Embassy, 2251 R. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.,

[3]The following three booksellers are suggested to both teachers and librarians who wish to purchase retrospective and new materials on South-East Asia: The Cellar Book Shop, Box 6, College Park Station, Detroit 21, Michigan; Paragon Book Shop, 140 E. 59th Street, New York, and The East and West Shop, Inc., 132 E. 61th Street, New York. If notified, these agencies will send, without charge, their catalogs of old and new materials for sale.

[4]The following journals are devoted to Asia, and usually include articles and book reviews on South-East Asia: *Eastern World** (58 Paddington St. London, W. 1), *Journal of Asian Studies* (P.O. Box 606, Ann Arbor, Michigan); *Pacific Affairs* (University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, Canada; and *The Asian Survey** (Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California).

An exceedingly valuable publication for teachers, and librarians, is *Intercom; A World Affairs Handbook* (The Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York, 10017). Volume 5 of *Intercom* is devoted to South and South-East Asia, and includes such sections as: regional cooperation, official sources of information, language and area training programs, travel and study opportunities, and an annotated bibliography. Although maps are particularly needed for teaching about South-East Asia, the existing supply is limited. One of the best large-size maps (29 by 34 inches) of this region may be obtained from the National Geographic Society, Washington 6, D.C. (paper, $1, fabric, $2). Two outline maps for student use are available from the Denoyer-Geppert Company. Both maps are titled, incorrectly, East Indies: No. 7089 (11 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches) and No. 8089 (11 by 16 inches).

The latest, and most detailed, geography devoted solely to South-East Asia is Charles A. Fisher, *A Social, Economic, and Political Geography of South-East Asia* (London: Methuen, 1963). Another geography of this region, particularly strong for Malaya, is Ernest H. G. Dobby, *South-East Asia* (London: University of London Press, 1960, 7th ed). Recommended shorter accounts are found in two college texts: Norton Ginsburg, John E. Brush, and others, *The Pattern of Asia* (Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1959) and Joseph E. Spencer, *Asia, East by South: A Cultural Geography* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957). Spencer is unusually successful in weaving his geographical data into a historical framework. Although written primarily for the upper elementary grades, magnificent photographs widen the value of the geography written by William S. Withington and Margaret Fisher, *South-East Asia** (Grand Rapids, Mich: The Fideler Company, 1963).

Briefer summaries of the cultural and economic geography of the following countries are available in the inexpensive publication, *Focus* (New York: American Geographical Society): *Malaya** (V. 9, No. 2, October, 1958); *Thailand** (V. 12, No. 6, February, 1962); *Burma** (V. 11, No. 2, October, 1960); *Republic of the Philippines** (V. 11, No. 3, April, 1961); *Sabah* North Borneo* (Vol. 14, No. 3, November, 1963) *Indonesia** (V. 7, No. 4, December 1956); *Vietnam** (V. 1, No. 5, February, 1951); *Cambodia** (V. 12, No. 3, April, 1962); and *Resources of the Tropics: III-South-East Asia** (V. 4, No. 5, February, 1954). These four-to-six page pamphlets are written usually by prominent geographers in non-technical language and include maps and brief bibliographies.

One of the best sources on contemporary South-East Asian governments and policies is George McT. Kahin, editor, *Governments and Politics of South-East Asia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1959). For each country, excluding Laos and Cambodia, there are chapters on its historical background, the recent social and economic setting, description and analysis of governmental organization, the political process, and some outstanding problems. Individual reading lists, briefly annotated, are included for each nation. General surveys of the comparative politics of South-East Asia are also available in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960) and Robert E. Ward and Roy C. Macridis, *Modern Political Systems: Asia* (Englewood Cliffe, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1963). The Ward and Macridis book deals with each South-East Asian country. A recent survey of political issues is Richard A. Butwell, *South-East Asia Today – and Tomorrow: A Political Analyis* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961).

The most complete description of postwar South-East Asian international relations is Russell A. Fifield, *The Diplomacy of South-East Asia 1945-1958* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958). Another book, by Professor Fifield, tracing American interest in this region, policies and tactics of the communists, and recommending a rationale for U.S. policy is, *South-East Asia In United States Policy* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963). Also recommended is Saul Rose (ed.), *Politics in Southern Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963). Two recent books on U.S. assistance to South-East Asia are: John D. Montgomery, *The Politics of Foreign Aid: American Experience in South-East Asia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962) and Amos Jordan, *Foreign Aid and the Defense of South-East Asia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962).

Professor Oliver E. Clubb, Jr., analyses the role for the United States and the Soviet Union, since the last war, in this region: *The United States and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in South-East Asia* (Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution 1962). For recent studies of Communist activities in Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, and Indonesia, consult Frank N. Trager, editor, *Marxism in South-East Asia: A Study of Four Countries* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959). For information on SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization), two free brief publications are available from the Office of Media Services, U.S. Department of State: *SEATO-Report, 1961-1962** and *Story of SEATO.** A free subscription to *SEATO RECORD*,

a journal published by this organization, may be obtained by writing: Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarters, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand. The following book is recommended for a more extensive discussion of the organization and functions of SEATO, George Modelski, *SEATO: Six Studies* (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Publications Centre, 1962).

There is no one book that deals with the basic economics of South-East Asia. Frank Golay, *The Philippines: Public Policy and National Economic Development* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1961) and T.R. Silcock, *The Commonwealth Economy of South-East Asia* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1959) are two excellent, if somewhat technical, studies. Both books have lengthy bibliographies; Golay's bibliographical essay is outstanding.

The demography of South-East Asia, excluding the Philippines, is described in Kathryn T. Louka, *The Role of Population in the Development of South-East Asia** (Washington, D.C.; Population Research Project, George Washington University, 1960). An excellent account of exploding populations in South-East Asia, by a recognized authority, is Irene B. Taeuber, "Population: Dilemma of Modernization in South-East Asia," *Asia: A Selection of Papers Delivered Before The Asia Society*, V.I., 1964, New York.

The best single English language survey of the theater in South-East Asia is Faubion Bowers, *Theatre in the East: A Survey of Asian Dance and Drama* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956). This book has chapters on each South-East Asian country, and includes classical and modern drama, dance, puppets, and associated topics. An excellent guide to the literature on music is Richard A. Waterman, Cecil Hobbs, and others, "Bibliography of Asian Musics. IV. South-East Asia," *Music Library Association Notes*, V. 7, 1950, pp. 84-98 The list of sources for each South-East Asian nation is preceded by a short note on its national music. Also recommended is Bernard P. Groslier, *The Art of Indochina, Including Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia*, translated by George Lawrence (New York: Crown Publishers, 1962). An easily accessible source is an article by Jean Edades, "Filipino Drama of the Past and Present," *The Theatre Annual*, 1957.

Twenty-seven members of the Thai National Defence College recently made a four-day visit to New Zealand. Major-General Chote Klongvicha (centre), deputy superintendent of the college and leader of the party is shown here with Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Phipps, (left), Chief of the Naw Zealand Defence Staff, and Air Commodore P.P. O'Brien, Deputy Chief of Defence Staff.

Technicians Graduate at Dacca Centre

DACCA, March 11 – The Pakistan – SEATO Technical Training Centre, started here in 1963, held its first graduation exercise on March 10 for the 123 trainees who qualified in different trades following an 18-month course of study.

Certificates were presented by Mr. Hafizur Rahman, the Provincial Finance Minister. Mr. Kafiluddin Mahmood, Secretary to the Department of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Government of East Pakistan, gave the address of thanks.

Welcoming the guests, Mr. B.B. Sen, Principal of the Training Centre, traced the history of the institution from the first SEATO assistance pledged in 1957 to its inauguration in 1964.

At present 470 apprentices are in training of whom 200 will graduate this September. Mr. Sen expressed the hope that, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the capacity of the Centre can be raised to 1,000 students in order to meet the pressing demands for skilled labour in East Pakistan's industrialization program.

The Centre provides training in 11 general trade areas including electricity, radio and electronics, machine shop, auto diesel, wood-working, welding and sheet metal, civil and mechanical draftsmanship, air-conditioning, foundry and pattern-making. A six-month instructor training course is also being started soon with 24 graduate students, to help meet the shortage of instructors for the province's vocational institutions.

In his remarks to the graduation class, Mr. Hafizur Rahman said that employers should take the opportunity of benefitting from the skills learned by the graduate trainees. The Government was taking steps to set up a network of training centres all over the country, he added.

New Agency Enters Cholera Research Program

BANGKOK, March 24 – The Communicable Disease Centre of the United States Public Health Service is directly joining the struggle against cholera in South-East Asia, it was announced today. The Centre will assist in the development of the epidemiology program of the Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory at Dacca, East Pakistan.

Dr. Wiley H. Mosley of the Communicable Disease Centre will take up his duties as head of the laboratory's epidemiology section in June. He will work under the direction of Dr. Abram S. Benenson, director of the laboratory. Dr. Alexander D. Langmuir, chief of the epidemiology branch of the Communicable Disease Centre, will represent the Centre on the National Institutes of Health Advisory Committee on Cholera, and on the panel of expert consultants of the Pakistan-SEATO laboratory.

The Minister of Finance of East Pakistan, Mr. Hafizur Rahman (right) presents a certificate to one of the 123 members of the first graduating class of the Pakistan-SEATO Technical Training Centre at Mirpur, Dacca.

New Secretary-General:

Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas

Lieutenant-General Jesus M. Vargas of the Philippines has been appointed by the SEATO Council to serve as Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. General Vargas, will assume his duties on July 1. His term of appointment is for three years.

General Vargas was born in Manila on March 22, 1905. He is a former Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Secretary of Defence and currently is Vice President of the Philippine-American Life Insurance Company. He is President and General Manager of the Philippine-American Management and Financing Company, a Philamlife subsidiary.

He has served his country – the Philippines – with the highest distinction in his long military career. as a member of the Government, and in business and civic affairs.

General Vargas has a reputation for efficiency, loyalty to principle and personal integrity.

After attending elementary and high schools in Manila, he qualified for entrance to the old Philippine Constabulary Academy in 1927, and was commissioned two years later as a third lieutenant.

His first assignment was with the Philippine Constabulary, which had the task of enforcing law and order in the countryside in the 1930's. He showed his mettle as a combat officer by successfully tracking down and eliminating a bandit gang in the Sierra Madre mountains of southern Luzon in 1934.

From 1936 to 1940 he took a series of specialized military courses culminating in a one-year course at the Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He returned to the Philippines in 1941, joined the United States Army Forces in the Far East as an officer of the 301st Field Artillery Regiment, took part in the defence of Bataan. When fighting ended in April, 1942, he held the rank of major.

After his release from a concentration camp, he was obliged to serve in the Bureau of Constabulary, organized by the occupation forces.

He returned to military duty in 1945, and in 1946 was sent to the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from which he was graduated in 1947.

Anti-Huk Campaign

Returning to the Philippines, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1949 and in 1950 was appointed commanding officer of the 5th Battalion Combat Team. Under him, the team earned a reputation as a hard-hitting unit in the fight against the Communist-led Huks, and he was awarded a Distinguished Service Star for his leadership in that anti-dissident campaign.

From this field assignment, he was promoted to colonel in 1951, and then became Vice Chief of Staff with the rank of brigadier-general in May 1952. In less than two years he was made Chief of Staff, with the rank of major-general. In 1954, he became the first lieutenant-general in the Philippine military service.

Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas

General Vargas was the first Philippine Military Adviser to SEATO, and took part in the preparation of initial plans for the defence of the Treaty Area against Communist aggression. He launched a bold modernization program to enable the Armed Forces of the Philippines to meet their international obligations under the Manila Treaty.

On December 29, 1956, he retired after 29 years of military service.

He was designated as Secretary of National Defense on August 28, 1957, and in the two succeeding years pursued his program to modernize the armed forces,

and to make them an effective arm of the government's rural development program.

General Vargas joined the Philippine-American Life Assurance Company in June 1959. He is at present vice-president of that company, and concurrently president of a subsidiary, the Philippine-American Management and Financing Company.

He is also Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, and a member of the board of directors of several civic and veterans' organizations. He has a family of four – two sons and two daughters.

General Vargas is SEATO's third Secretary-General. He succeeds Mr. Konthi Suphamongkhon of Thailand, who assumed office on February 19, 1964. The first Secretary-General, Mr. Pote Sarasin, also of Thailand, assumed the position in September 1957, and remained in office until November 1963, except for a brief period during which he served as Prime Minister.

Seato Chronology

April 5: Party from the Canadian National Defence College led by Air Commodore H.C. Ledoux briefed at SEATO Headquarters. Air Marshal A.M. Murdoch, Chief of Staff-designate of the Royal Australian Air Force, called on Secretary-General.

April 19-21: Secretary-General visited hill tribes areas in Northern Thailand and inspected progress with the establishment of the Hill Tribes Research Station at Chiengmai.

April 22: Signing of contract for pile-driving for new SEATO Headquarters building in Bangkok.

April 28-30 Military Advisers' 22nd meeting in London.

May 3-5: Tenth SEATO Council meeting in London.

May 1-24: Exercise SEA HORSE, combined SEATO maritime manoeuvre held in South China Sea; 29th SEATO exercise and second held in 1965.

Books of Interest

UNITED STATES. Library of Congress. World Communism; a selected annotated bibliography. Washington, U.S. Govt. Printing Off., 1964. x, 394p. (Document No. 69) – Addendum. Washington, 1964. 016.33543.

LONDON, Kurt *editor*. New nations in a divided world; the international relations of the Afro-Asian states. New York, Praeger for the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, 1963. xv, 336p. 327.

GRIFFITH, William E. *editor*. The Sino-Soviet rift. London, Allen and Unwin for The China Quarterly, 1964. xiv, 508p. 327.47051.

WINT, Guy. Communist China's crusade; Mao's road to power and the new campaign for world revolution. London, Pall Mall, 1965. 136p. 355.43095.

MILLS, Lennox A. South-East Asia; illusion and reality in politics and economics. Minnesota, University Press, 1964. viii, 365p. 959.

FILLIOZAT, Jean. India; the country and its traditions. Translated from the French by Margaret Ledésert. London, Harrap, 1962. 276p., illus. 954.

AHMAD, Mushtaq. Government and politics in Pakistan. 2nd edition. Karachi, Pakistan Publishing House, 1963. xii, 336p. 320.9547.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. Australia's defence and foreign policy. Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1964. 172p. 327.94.

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES. Research works and other publications of the faculties; academic years 1961-63. Diliman, Quezon City (1965) 299p.

Seato Publications

(The following publications may be obtained, on request, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarters, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand.)

Report on SEATO 1963-64 (English, Thai) – Annual report by SEATO Secretary-General.

SEATO: 1954-1964 (Thai) – A pictorial and written review of 10 years of SEATO progress.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai)

Information pamphlet on SEATO with notes on member countries.

The Manila Pact and the Pacific Charter

Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter, with explanatory notes.

Gandhara Sculpture in Pakistan (English, Thai)

The origin and development of Gandhara art.

Aspects of the History, Culture and Religions of Pakistan

Lectures by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, as a travelling lecturer under the SEATO Cultural Relations Program.

SEATO Activities Under the Cultural Relations Program

SEATO activities from 1957-1964 in the field of education.

Post-graduate Studies in Asian SEATO Countries

A guide for applicanto for SEATO Post-graduate Scholarships.

Collective Security: Shield of Freedom (Revised, 1963)

The nature and scope of the various collective security pacts linking 41 nations of the Free World. Foreword by Mr. Pote Sarasin, Secretary-General of SEATO. 165 pp.

Medical

Research into Disease – I : Cholera (Pakistan – SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory)

Posters:

The Painter's View of his Country – I

Communist Economic Subversion: A Reappraisal

By Dr. Hans Heymann Jr., a discussion of the growing Communist reliance on economic measures as tools of foreign policy.

Peking On Revolution

Extracts from speeches and articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin indicating the demand for revolutionary uprising.

Target: Labour Unions (English, Thai)

An account of Communist techniques of infiltration and control of the labour movement.

Life in Mainland China

"Story of an Intellectual"
"Story of a Country Doctor"
"Story of a Factory Worker"
"Stories of a Farm Worker and Coolie"
"A Student's Story"

Freedom or Communism?

Text of a lecture given by Dr. Luang Suriyabongs at the first SEATO Seminar on Countering Communist Subversion, Baguio, Philippines.

Communist Tactics in Asia

The real Communist aims in Asia and the tactics being employed to attain them.

Politics in Command

Chinese intellectuals and the Communist Party.

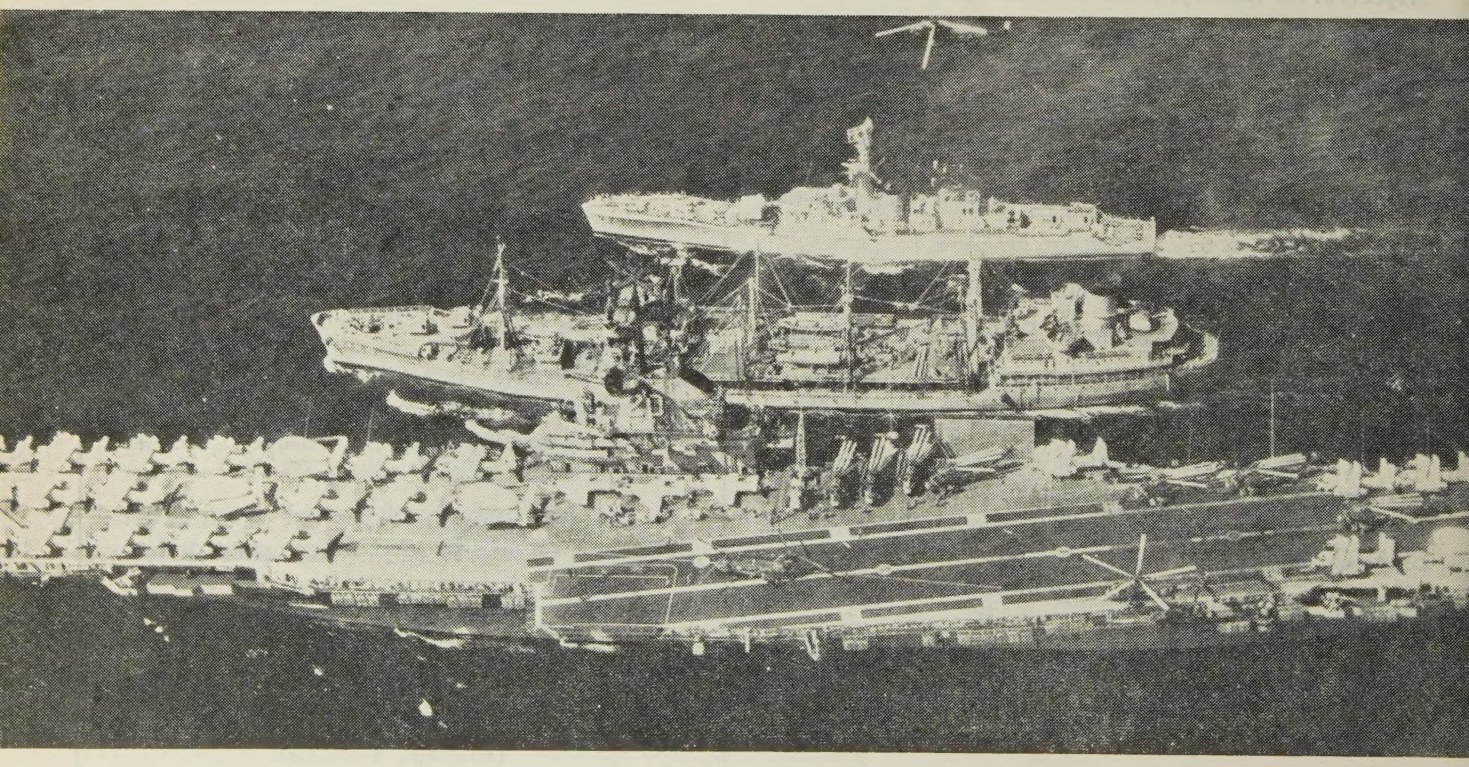
SEATO FILM

The film "SEATO: Shield of Progress" is now available for loan to universities, schools, libraries and other institutions in its 16 mm version with English or Thai sound tracks. "SEATO; Shield of Progress" is a 20-minute, black-and-white documentary, surveying the work and achievements of the Organization in the military, economic, social and cultural fields.

The film may be borrowed from national information services of member countries or from:

The Director,
Public Information Office,
SEATO Headquarters,
P.O. Box 517,
Bangkok, Thailand.

Exercise SEA HORSE, combined SEATO maritime manoeuvre. was held in the South China Sea from May 1 to 24, 1965. Right: Rear Admiral Setap Keyanon of the Royal Thai Navy with the Deputy Director of the Exercise, Rear Admiral T.K. Morrison, who is Flag Officer Commanding the Australian Fleet, on the flight deck of aircraft carrier, HMAS Melbourne. Below: US Seventh Fleet carrier Bennington and Australian frigate Yarra practise underway refuelling from the American tanker Platte.



Printed by Chaveng Chavengthamarat at the Thai Sambhand Printing Press. 62-64, Fuang Nakorn Road, Bangkok. June 1965